

Certainly, capital outflows could be expected to resume on a massive scale if we, by our own actions, demonstrate to all the world an unwillingness to take those actions that are necessary to reduce and eliminate our deficit. In that event, no one could answer for the continued stability of the dollar.

I know of no substitute for the legislation before you that will adequately meet the need without turning in the direction of direct controls. Thus, it should be clearly understood that rejection of the substance of this legislation would force the United States to move, in this area of portfolio investment,

to measures of direct control contrary to our traditions—measures that we must do everything in our power to avoid. For these reasons, I consider it of utmost importance that your committee take prompt and affirmative action in support of the general principles embodied in this proposal.

SENATE

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1963

(Legislative day of Tuesday,
October 22, 1963)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou God above all, yet in all: Our way is veiled in night; with Thee alone is endless day. Out of the darkness and above the storms of earth, we lift our prayer.

In spite of our selfish schemes, which too often have been blind to the welfare of the common man at home and abroad, Thou hast entrusted to our hands and to those who march with us in freedom's cause the keys of the future. As the unworthy agents of Thy resistless will, our eyes are seeing Thy righteous sentence written against any tyranny which blasphemes Thy Holy Name, and the fulfillment of the ancient word: "Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall in it; and he that rolleth a stone, it will return upon him."

In this grand, yet awful, time, we are solemnly conscious in this historic Chamber that the light of each new day is calling for decisions of destiny which will mold the future, determining the shape of things to come for myriads of the sons of men and of generations unborn.

Open our eyes and strengthen our hearts, that we may trust tomorrow's gleams. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. METCALF, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, October 22, 1963, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its

reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 5244. An act to modify the project on the Mississippi River at Muscatine, Iowa, to permit the use of certain property for public park purposes;

H.R. 5945. An act to establish a procedure for the prompt settlement, in a democratic manner, of the political status of Puerto Rico; and

H.R. 8821. An act to revise the provisions of law relating to the methods by which amounts made available to the States pursuant to the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 and title XII of the Social Security Act are to be restored to the Treasury.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1064. An act to amend the act redefining the units and establishing the standards of electrical and photometric measurements to provide that the candela shall be the unit of luminous intensity;

S. 1576. An act to provide assistance in combating mental retardation through grants for construction of research centers and grants for facilities for the mentally retarded and assistance in improving mental health through grants for construction of community mental health centers, and for other purposes;

H.R. 844. An act to declare that certain land of the United States is held by the United States in trust for the Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation;

H.R. 845. An act to declare that certain land of the United States is held by the United States in trust for the Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation;

H.R. 2635. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1955, for the purpose of including the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation among reservations excepted from the 25-year lease limitations;

H.R. 3306. An act to establish a revolving fund from which the Secretary of the Interior may make loans to finance the procurement of expert assistance by Indian tribes in cases before the Indian Claims Commission;

H.R. 6225. An act to provide for the rehabilitation of Guam, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 6481. An act to permit the government of Guam to authorize a public authority to undertake urban renewal and housing activities.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H.R. 5244. An act to modify the project on the Mississippi River at Muscatine, Iowa, to permit the use of certain property for public park purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 5945. An act to establish a procedure for the prompt settlement, in a democratic

manner, of the political status of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 8821. An act to revise the provisions of law relating to the methods by which amounts made available to the States pursuant to the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 and title XII of the Social Security Act are to be restored to the Treasury; to the Committee on Finance.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, notwithstanding the fact that the Senate met following a recess, I ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour, and that statements in connection therewith be limited to 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Morning business is in order.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. METCALF, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Finance was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON ADDITIONAL RESEARCH LABORATORY FACILITIES FOR MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on additional research laboratory facilities for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

REPORT ON UNAUTHORIZED USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS ADVANCED TO THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, VIII OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the unauthorized use of Federal funds advanced to the Organizing Committee, VIII Olympic Games, Squaw Valley, Calif., U.S.A. 1960, Inc., for construction of a sports arena, dated October 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON WEAKNESSES IN ADMINISTRATION OF HOSPITAL RESEARCH GRANT PROGRAM, PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the weaknesses in administration of the hospital research grant program, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated October 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE REPLY TO B-118763, JUNE 28, 1963

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant

to law, a report on the Department of Defense reply to B-118763, June 28, 1963, failure of the Department of the Navy to fully recover excessive administrative cost allowances included in fixed prices negotiated with Brown-Raymond-Walsh (a joint venture) under contract NOY-83333 for the Spanish base construction program, dated October 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON THE AUBURN-FOLSOM SOUTH UNIT, CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT, CALIFORNIA

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a supplemental report on the Auburn-Folsom South unit, Central Valley project, California (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

MAJ. VICTOR R. ROBINSON, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Maj. Victor R. Robinson, Jr., U.S. Air Force (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TEMPORARY ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered, granting temporary admission into the United States of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition from the Public Schools of Worcester, Mass., signed by James J. Hayward, clerk, relating to the enactment of legislation to permit the opening of schools with a prayer ceremony, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S. Res. 215. Resolution providing additional funds for a study by the Committee on Government Operations of matters pertaining to interagency coordination, economy, and efficiency, authorized by Senate Resolution 27, 88th Congress (Rept. No. 591).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, as in executive session, from the Committee on Armed Services, I report favorably the nomination of Maj. Gen. Fred M. Dean for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general in connection with his contemplated assignment as assistant to the Director, Weapons Evaluation and Control, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I ask that this nomination be printed on the Executive Calendar.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in addition I report favorably 245 officers for temporary and permanent appointment in the Navy and Marine

Corps in grades not above lieutenant commander and captain and 509 officers for temporary appointment to the grade of major in the Marine Corps.

Since these names have already been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order to save the expense of printing on the Executive Calendar, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

S. 2253. A bill to make certain expenditures in connection with the Peoria, Ill., "medical center" project eligible as local grants-in-aid toward that project; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BENNETT:

S. 2254. A bill to require the procurement of certain services by Government agencies from commercial suppliers whenever economy will result from such procurement; to the Committee on Government Operations.

(See the remarks of Mr. BENNETT when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 2255. A bill to authorize the disposition of certain property at Hot Springs National Park, in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ELLENDER (by request):

S. 2256. A bill to amend the act of August 28, 1950, enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish, upon a reimbursable basis, certain inspection services involving overtime work; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 2257. A bill to provide for the restriction of certain areas in the outer Continental Shelf for defense purposes, and for other purposes (Gulf Test Range, Gulf of Mexico); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. BIBLE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself, Mr. McCARTHY, and Mr. BURDICK):

S. 2258. A bill to establish a voluntary special agricultural conservation wheat program for 1964 and 1965 crop years; to provide for the resumption of the use of wheat for feed in areas where it has been used historically for this purpose; to minimize the amount of export subsidies and diversion payments; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. HUMPHREY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MCINTYRE (for himself, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MUSKIE, and Mr. PROUTY):

S. 2259. A bill to further amend section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 371), to liberalize the conditions of loans by national banks on forest tracts; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. MCINTYRE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

My Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 2260. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction of housing facilities for agricultural workers by permitting the amortization over

a 60-month period of the cost, or a portion of the cost, of constructing such housing facilities; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and Mr. BURDICK):

S.J. Res. 128. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of an annual National Farmers Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. HUMPHREY when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION—JOINT EXPLORATION AND USE OF SPACE

Mr. CLARK (for himself, Mr. HUMPHREY, and Mrs. NEUBERGER) submitted a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 65) favoring agreements with other nations for the joint exploration and use of space and to place a man on the moon, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. CLARK, which appears under a separate heading.)

FEDERAL SERVICES PROCUREMENT ACT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which would require the procurement of certain services by Government agencies from commercial suppliers whenever economy will result from such procurement. I ask unanimous consent that the bill lie on the desk for 10 days so that those Senators who may wish to cosponsor may add their names to it.

This proposed Federal Service Procurement Act is, in my opinion, necessary to reverse a continuing trend toward interagency dealings for the provision of various services on a reimbursable basis, in competition with private, taxpaying firms. When one agency retains the services of another, the action is not usually based on any cost comparison; the proposed act would require that consideration be given to possible economies available through consideration of private enterprise firms providing like services.

Professional societies representing consulting engineers and photogrammetrists in private practice have recently called to my attention a number of instances of Federal interagency dealings competing with their members. Proposals from private firms were not invited, and so the Government has no means of ascertaining what savings, if any, might have been obtained.

I sincerely feel that the Government should be enabled to take advantage of the economies available through the employment of private firms or Federal agencies following a meaningful cost comparison.

RESTRICTION OF CERTAIN AREAS IN OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, at the request of the Department of the Air

Force, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to provide for the restriction of certain areas in the Outer Continental Shelf for defense purposes and for other purposes.

The legislation would restrict the use of certain submerged lands off the gulf coast of the State of Florida, and restrict the operation of mineral leasing laws therein.

The installation involved is a portion of the gulf test range consisting of over 24 million acres of submerged land which is used by the Air Force and Navy in the testing and development of weapons systems and in the training of personnel.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2257) to provide for the restriction of certain areas in the Outer Continental Shelf for defense purposes, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. BIBLE, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

FOREST CREDIT AND NATIONAL BANKS

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the development of sustained yield forestry has brought many benefits to the national economy and the American people. It has permitted the more orderly development of forest products industries. Lands under such management afford wildlife habitat and recreational benefits for visitors. On occasion, however, a landowner finds it impossible to provide such management for want of credit. Better fire control, higher prices for forest products, the development of a market for hardwood pulp, and other developments have made certain kinds of forestry loans high grade credit risks for private lenders, thus freeing woodlot owners and forest products industries from any need to rely entirely on Government credit. I therefore introduce and send to the desk, for myself, and Senators SPARKMAN, MUSKIE, and PROUTY, a bill to liberalize the conditions of loans by national banks on forest tracts.

Mr. President, this bill would increase the amount permitted for such loans from 40 percent of the value of stumpage up to 60 percent of the value of both standing and growing timber, land, and improvements thereon. It would extend the permitted term of such loans from 10 years up to 15 years. The bill is offered as an amendment to section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, enacted by Congress in 1953.

My own State of New Hampshire is 87 percent forested but much of these forests, especially on small woodlots, must be classed as poor second growth timber. Today's lumber markets require the best possible quality, so it is hard for our region to capitalize upon the undoubted economic and employment potential of these forests. As needed improvements cannot be taken without long periods of unrewarded investment, the nature of forest credit becomes very important to us.

Forest credit enables the woodland owner to increase his holdings to economically efficient size. It may enable an owner to hold rapidly appreciating stands until they are at an optimum stage for cutting by providing funds for taxpayments and improvement. Loans on such property sometimes enable the owner of unstocked or rundown forests to rehabilitate his stand. The owner might seek a loan in order to avoid cutting when a farm is sold, when he is in temporary financial difficulties, or to wait out a downturn in market conditions. In transmitting this bill for the consideration of the Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury expressed the belief that the credit needs of the timber industry require greater recognition. This bill will help to meet those needs and extend such recognition.

The bill is fully consistent with the dual-banking system. Most State-chartered banks already have such authority. In my own State of New Hampshire mutual savings banks may make loans on all real estate up to 70 percent of the value of the real property, either in New Hampshire or any adjacent State. State-chartered commercial banks may make loans on similar conditions in any New England State. In some States, the powers of State-chartered commercial banks are tied to the powers of nationally chartered banks, which in turn depend on section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act where forest credit is concerned. I believe this bill's passage would have one distinct benefit in contributing, throughout the entire dual-banking system, to a positive recognition of forestry as an appropriate field of lending activity.

There are many woodlots too small for commercially advantageous forestry operations. A second benefit from the passage of this bill might be to encourage the kind of effective operation that would serve as a base for credit. The excellent study of "Forest Credit in the United States," published by Resources for the Future, Inc., made this observation:

A more aggressive effort on the part of the lending agencies to make credit available, if sound practices and organization are adopted, can be a powerful influence in bringing about the changes needed to make forestry a better basis for credit.

Such changes might include greater attention to cooperative marketing arrangements, reliance on technical advice from consulting foresters and State and Federal Government agencies, and regional treatment and warehousing facilities.

This bill will not meet all of our needs for improved forestry credit. The Farmers Home Administration operates a forest loan program whose liberal terms may be necessary for the more risky loans. I intend to explore the possibility of providing variable repayment schedules on private loans as well intermediate credit arrangements where forestry mortgages might be discounted. The support which this bill enjoys from forestry associations, State and National banks, and students of our resource needs makes it a very desirable first step. I

ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the bill be held at the desk should additional Senators wish to cosponsor, through Thursday, October 31, and that the text of the bill appear at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD and held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from New Hampshire.

The bill (S. 2259) to further amend section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 371), to liberalize the conditions of loans by national banks on forest tracts, introduced by Mr. McINTYRE (for himself and other Senators) was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the second paragraph of section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, as added by the Act of August 15, 1953, c. 510, 67 Stat. 613 (12 U.S.C. 371), is amended to read:

"Any national banking association may make real estate loans secured by first liens upon forest tracts which are properly managed in all respects. Such loans shall be in the form of an obligation or obligations secured by mortgage, trust deed, or other instrument; and any national banking association may purchase any obligation so secured when the entire amount of such obligation is sold to the association. The amount of any such loan shall not exceed 60 per centum of the appraised fair market value of the growing timber, lands, and improvements thereon offered as security and the loan shall be made upon such terms and conditions as to assure that at no time shall the loan balance exceed 60 per centum of the original appraised total value of the property then remaining. No such loan shall be made for a longer term than three years; except that any such loan may be made for a term not longer than fifteen years if the loan is secured by an amortized mortgage, deed of trust, or other such instrument under the terms of which the installment payments are sufficient to amortize the principal of the loan within a period of not more than fifteen years and at a rate of at least 6½ per centum per annum. All such loans secured by first lien upon forest tracts shall be included in the permissible aggregate of all real estate loans prescribed in the preceding paragraph, but no national banking association shall make forest-tract loans in an aggregate sum in excess of 50 per centum of its capital stock paid in and unimpaired plus 50 per centum of its unimpaired surplus fund."

CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING FACILITIES FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide a tax incentive, in the form of rapid amortization for the construction of farm labor housing. I ask unanimous consent that the bill lie on the desk until Tuesday, October 29, for additional sponsors.

Mr. President, the farmer who employs hired labor, and especially migratory labor, in many respects is in a position nearly unique among employers. Not the least of the farmer's special problems is

that he is generally under the necessity of providing housing for his employees. This housing is an extra item of labor cost, and where the housing is adequate, safe, and sanitary, the cost can become heavy indeed. This is especially true respecting migrant housing, because migratory workers are needed in large numbers, for short periods; and the housing provided for them is likely to stand vacant for large portions of the year. Current developments in mechanization further increase the burden of providing good housing, for in numerous crops and areas the need for the migrant's labor may be eliminated entirely within a few years.

Because the farmer carries this special burden, Mr. President, I believe it is appropriate to make some special assistance available to him. Despite the fact that many farm employers have performed exemplarily in providing good housing for their workers, there is still a great deal of housing for migrants that can fairly be described as deplorably wretched and totally inadequate for human habitation. Furthermore, the fact that the migratory worker may, at some future time, because obsolete is no reason to countenance the housing conditions he is sometimes faced with now.

The need for better farmworker housing was stressed—not for the first time—at a hearing just a week ago before the Housing Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency. In testimony for the Department of Labor, Under Secretary John F. Henning gave a vivid description of the living conditions of many migrant farmworkers in this country. The following is an excerpt from Secretary Henning's testimony:

A field report by the State Services Division of the Bureau of Labor Standards on the living conditions of approximately 235 migrants in two camps in a Midwestern State is shocking. The first camp visited consisted of a group of six city buses and a trailer located in the middle of a field in the hot sun with no shade. According to the report, no water of any kind was available in the camp itself. Water was hauled in a large garbage-type can from a long distance; garbage and waste were collected in uncovered cans within 15 feet of the bus, which had no screens of any kind.

The second camp included 50 old buses parked in a grove of trees, where there were at least five pumps for water and a pit on the edge of the camp for disposing of refuse. Some of the buses had screens; more of them had burlap sacks on the outside of the windows. However, the three open doorways in each bus were not protected by screens of any kind and the windows for ventilation in the outside toilet were also unscreened.

A recent report from a regional consultant to the Bureau of Labor Standards on labor camps in a Western State describes sanitary conditions in a particular camp as atrocious, with no bathing facilities in the camp and no running water in the cabins. Wood stoves were used for cooking purposes, making the cabins extremely hot in the summer.

Typical of a widespread problem are conditions disclosed in an investigation conducted by the Bureau of Employment Security in a Southwestern State where the camp was found to have no hot water for bathing, improper drainage, and fire hazards. In other camps the investigator found stagnant water around outside water spigots, bath water seeping into a nearby well,

screens in need of repair, and doors, floors, and seats from outside toilets missing.

Since this particular investigation was conducted under an international agreement imposing conditions on the use of foreign farm workers, the workers could be removed from these unsanitary surroundings. The Federal Government can offer no such protections to domestic farmworkers.

Mr. President, the principle of Federal assistance for farm housing is well established. The recent hearing from which Secretary Henning's testimony was quoted was directed to another migratory labor bill, S. 981, to expand the direct financial assistance for farm housing available under the Housing Act of 1949. But the gravity of the farm labor housing situation is such, in my opinion, that we should give the most serious consideration to every means at our disposal for correcting it. Accordingly, the legislation introduced today would create an incentive for the improvement of farm labor housing through an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code.

Under this bill, the construction costs of housing for domestic farm labor could be amortized for tax purposes over a period of 5 years, rather than, as at present, depreciated over 25, 30, or 40 years—whatever may be the entire useful life of the housing facility. In addition to new construction, the amortization deduction would be available respecting the costs of alteration or remodeling so as to improve or enlarge an existing housing facility for domestic agricultural workers.

The special deduction, in lieu of depreciation, could be taken by a farmer or other owner with respect to housing completed after December 31, 1962, or by the purchaser of such housing. To qualify, the owner would obtain a certificate from the Secretary of Agriculture covering these three points:

First. That the housing facility has been constructed to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for agricultural workers;

Second. If the housing is to be rented, rather than being furnished to farmworkers rent free, that the rentals will be reasonable in view of the occupants' probable incomes and earning capacities; and

Third. That during the 5-year amortization period, the housing will be made available primarily for occupancy by domestic agricultural workers and will be maintained in accordance with applicable minimum standards on safety and sanitation.

Mr. President, I realize that consideration of the tax measure is well underway. Yet, the equities of the bill introduced are so clear and, the tax implications so simple, that I believe it not unrealistic to anticipate that the Finance Committee can consider it at an early date and report it favorably during this Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from New Jersey.

The bill (S. 2260) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encour-

age the construction of housing facilities for agricultural workers by permitting the amortization over a 60-month period of the cost, or a portion of the cost, of constructing such housing facilities, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

NATIONAL FARMERS WEEK

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], I introduce today a joint resolution providing that the 7-day period beginning on the first Sunday of April in each year be designated as National Farmers Week. Such a week would be observed with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and would serve to call attention to the American people the farmer's contribution to the strength and resources of our country.

The truly great story of our time, Mr. President, is a factual report on what farm families have done and are doing for our country.

The 188 million men, women, and children of the United States have more food of better quality in greater variety than any people in any country in all recorded history.

And not only do Americans have more than enough food available to them, they buy it for a smaller share of their incomes than do families in any other country. In the last 2 years the proportion of consumer income required to purchase food has dropped to the lowest ratio in history—19 percent of take-home pay.

Mr. President, while producing more and more better foods, farm families have been sending workers from the land into other areas of the Nation's economy—into manufacturing, transportation, business, and the professions and services. Our industrial development has been due in great measure to the fact that we were able to steadily increase food production, thereby substituting increased skills and technology for farmworkers.

In the last decade, production per man-hour in agriculture increased 77 percent. A century ago one worker on the farm supplied food and fiber for less than five persons. By 1940 the figure had risen to 10. Now, just 23 years later, each farmworker supplies food and fiber for 28 persons.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, those who feed us so well do not themselves eat very high on the hog. Farm income has improved the past 2 years, but it still averages only 60 percent of nonfarm income. But while farmers are fewer in number and do not share equitably in the national income, they make a significant contribution to the total economy.

There are fewer than 15 million people living on our farms—only about 8 percent of the country's population. The population of the State of California exceeds our national farm population.

Yet farmers create millions of jobs for fellow Americans. Ten million people have jobs storing, transporting,

processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture. Six million have jobs providing the supplies farmers use. Thousands in rural communities across the land make their livings providing services required by farmers.

The investment in agriculture exceeds \$200 billion. That figure is comparable to about three-fourths of the value of current assets for all corporations in the country. It represents three-fifths of the value of all corporation stock on the New York Stock Exchange.

The investment in agriculture represents \$21,300 for each farmworker, as compared with a manufacturing investment of \$16,000 for each worker. In 1961, when our farmers had a gross income of nearly \$40 billion, they spent \$27 billion to operate their businesses.

Farmers spend over \$2 billion a year for trucks, tractors, machines, and other equipment. Farming uses more petroleum than any other single industry—more than \$2 billion is spent by farmers each year for fuel, lubricants, and equipment maintenance.

You could provide Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, San Diego, and Chicago with electricity for a year and the kilowatt consumption would be about the same as the total needed to keep our farms going.

When people begin telling me, Mr. President, all the things the country is doing for agriculture, I ask them what would happen if this Nation lost three-fourths of the assets of all corporations, or three-fifths of the market value of all corporation stocks on the New York Exchange, or more than 16 million non-farm jobs.

The answers to these questions are, in part, the answers to what farm families are doing for the country.

Mr. President, the resolution I have introduced today—a resolution providing for an annual National Farmers Week in the spring—would in a small way express a nation's gratitude to the men, women, and children who live and work on the Nation's family farms. I am hopeful the resolution will receive early consideration by the Judiciary Committee and that this body will see fit to pass it at an early date. I ask unanimous consent to have the joint resolution printed at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 128) providing for the establishment of an annual National Farmers Week, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and Mr. BURDICK), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the seven-day period beginning on the first Sunday of April in each year is hereby designated as National Farmers Week, and the President is requested to issue annually a proclamation calling on the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT AMENDMENT (AMENDMENT NO. 234)

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to H.R. 7885—the Foreign Assistance Act—and ask that it be printed and lie on the desk, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

This amendment will merely put contracts with and grants to educational institutions under the foreign aid program on the same footing as contracts with and grants to educational institutions in our domestic programs.

I have previously spoken about this amendment when I introduced it as an amendment to S. 1276. This amendment has since been perfected in consultation with the National Association of College and University Business Officers and the Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education. I shall speak on this amendment at greater length next week.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 234) is as follows:

On page 50, delete lines 19 through 24 and on page 51 delete lines 1 and 2 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(k) Any cost-type contract or agreement (including grants) entered into with a university, college, or other educational institution for the purpose of carrying out programs authorized by part I may provide for the payment of the reimbursable indirect costs of said university, college, or other educational institutions on the basis of predetermined fixed-percentage rates (determined in accordance with a formula established by the Bureau of the Budget for determining costs), applied to the total, or an element thereof, of the reimbursable direct costs incurred, provided that none of the funds provided herein shall be used to pay any recipient of a grant for the conduct of a research project an amount for indirect expenses in connection with such project in excess of 20 per centum of the direct costs."

AMENDMENT TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT TO TERMINATE MILITARY AID TO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES (AMENDMENT NO. 235)

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and Senators ERVIN, NELSON, PROXMIRE, CANNON, McGOVERN, MORSE, and SMATHERS, I submit an amendment to H.R. 7885—the foreign assistance bill. This amendment would provide for the termination of all military aid to all Latin American countries.

Recent events in Latin America emphasize the need for such an amendment. I intend to speak at length on this matter next week. I submit this amendment at this time so that my colleagues may have an opportunity to study it.

I ask unanimous consent that this amendment be printed and lie at the desk and also that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be received and printed; and,

without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 235) is as follows:

Insert between lines 8 and 9 on page 41 the following:

"(d) Section 505(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195) is hereby amended by changing the period at the end thereof to a comma and adding the following proviso: 'Provided, That, except (1) to the extent necessary to fulfill prior commitments and (2) to the extent that the President finds, with respect to any Latin American country, that the furnishing of military assistance under this Act is necessary to safeguard the security of the United States, and so informs the Congress, no further military assistance under any provision of this Act shall be furnished to any Latin American country.'"

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1963—AMENDMENT (AMENDMENT NO. 236)

Mr. DIRKSEN submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 7885) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ALASKA DAY

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, last Friday was Alaska Day.

October 18 marked the 97th anniversary of the transfer of Russian America from the ownership of the czar of all the Russias to the United States of America. On October 18, 1867, in a ceremony at Sitka, Alaska, Gen. L. H. Rousseau took formal possession of Alaska on behalf of President Andrew Jackson of the United States.

It was my great good fortune to be present at Sitka last Friday. Hundreds of people gathered in the former capital of Alaska from all sections of the 49th State. My colleague and friend, Representative RALPH J. RIVERS, had also gone to Sitka from Washington for this historic event. And, as has been the case for many years, the military participated actively. Present were Lt. Gen. Raymond J. Reeves, Commander in Chief, Alaska Command, as well as Maj. Gen. Ned D. Moore, Commanding General, U.S. Army, Alaska, Rear Adm. Fred E. Bakutis, commander of the 17th Naval District, and Rear Adm. George D. Synon, Commander of the 17th Coast Guard District, together with many other officers and military units. The people of Sitka are especially appreciative of all that the military has done to make this annual celebration a success, and speaking in their behalf now as well as my own, I want to thank General Reeves. On Castle Hill Friday afternoon there was reenactment of the lowering of the Russian flag and raising of the Stars and Stripes. Then Gov. William A. Egan of Alaska delivered the only address in a brief but very impressive ceremony.

The history of Alaska is a fascinating study. The history of Alaska is, in fact, nothing less than the history of our Nation's relations with Soviet Russia; for it is in Alaska that the eastern expan-

sion of Russia came face to face, or as we say now, eyeball to eyeball, with the western expansion of the United States. The experience which we gained in negotiating the sale with Russia in 1867 is as valid today as it was then.

Some will say the relatively new peril of communism has changed the face of the world, the ways of diplomacy. But I wonder. The more I read of the past, the more I am impressed with how little today is new, how much is the same.

An example of this, perhaps, is the hot line which President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev have agreed will provide instant communication between the White House and the Kremlin. I wonder how many Senators know that this proposal is not new; that it was first advanced by President Abraham Lincoln. Some of the reasons may be different, but the essential fact remains. In 1864, in the midst of the Civil War, the President in his annual message to the Congress, proposed the construction of an overland telegraph route from the east coast of America through Alaska and Siberia to the then capital, St. Petersburg, where it would connect with direct lines to the European capitals.

The construction of the project proposed by the Western Union Telegraph Co. was actually begun in 1865. Work crews began stringing lines from the Seward Peninsula in the region of Nome in that year. As a matter of fact, it was these Western Union employees who made the first gold strike on the Seward Peninsula. They were the forerunners of many, many thousands of sourdough miners who came to Nome at the turn of the century.

Gold was discovered in 1865 and then it was forgotten. It was not rediscovered until 1898.

A Western Union party ascended the Yukon River as far as Selkirk, Yukon Territory of Canada. In 1867 another party went up the Yukon as far as Fort Yukon. Meanwhile, similar parties were at work in Siberia.

It is sad to relate that all this work came for naught, for in 1866 the first transatlantic cable was laid successfully and as a result the overland system was no longer needed.

The sale of Alaska to the United States was negotiated and formally signed by treaty March 30, 1867. The Russians, however, we now know, had been interested in selling the territory for close to a decade.

In 1859 the subject was broached to the Russian minister to the United States by Senator Gwin, of California, acting on behalf of President Buchanan. No firm offer was made but mention was made that the United States might be willing to pay as high as \$5 million.

The Russian Ambassador, Baron Edouard Stoeckel, in a confidential memo to his home government, said that this seemed to be a large sum, more than the colony was worth—more, in fact, he added, than the colony ever would be worth and certainly as much as the United States would ever be willing to give.

The baron was proved wrong on every point.

The baron, in his memo, pointed out the benefits which the czar would gain from the sale. The fur trade was declining in importance. The Russian-American company, which operated the colony and sold the furs, was in financial difficulties which seemed to be getting worse. Alaska could be seized by any strong naval power in time of war. No doubt, the baron meant Great Britain, a nation with whom the Russian Government had recently been at war. It was important to Russia that Britain not be allowed to obtain a dominant position in the Pacific. The baron recognized the truth that the nation which controls Alaska controls the Pacific Ocean, and he did not want it to fall into the hands of a great power. The United States was not then a great power but was strong enough to defend Alaska.

The strategic importance of Alaska is a fact which must never be forgotten, for if it is forgotten, it is only relearned at great cost. This was clearly and most expensively demonstrated at the beginning of the Second War when it was necessary to arm a defenseless Alaska at great speed.

There is another interesting document in the Russian archives from this period dealing with Alaska. It is thought to have been written by Admiral Popov February 7, 1860. The admiral stated that Russia might as well sell Alaska to America because America was bound and determined to have it in time by sale or otherwise.

By 1866 the Russians had decided to sell Alaska. They gave the minister a map with the frontiers outlined and told him not to take less than \$5 million.

In March of 1867 Stoeckel called on Secretary of State Seward and the negotiations began.

Having been instructed not to take less than \$5 million, Baron Stoeckel told Seward he could not possibly consider anything less than \$7 million.

After weeks of hard fought negotiations, Secretary of State Seward finally obtained Baron Stoeckel's concession: Russia would sell Alaska for \$7 million.

Because of various technicalities in negotiations, it became necessary for the United States to add an additional \$200,000 to the selling price.

America bought Alaska the way most of us buy used cars.

The treaty was signed at 4 a.m. March 30, 1867. It was a strange time to sign a treaty but Seward was anxious to complete the deal, especially so because the 40th Congress was close to adjournment and he wished to obtain Senate approval of the treaty before the Congress went home. He was afraid the Russians would take affront if the treaty was not promptly ratified. Senators will feel a pang of envy at the thought of a Congress adjourning in March or April. Here it is October and here we are, still. Senators who were impressed with the speed and decision with which the Senate recently ratified the test ban treaty will also be interested to know that the sale-of-Alaska treaty was signed on the

30th of March, was considered by the Foreign Relations Committee, reported out and approved by a vote of 37 to 2 on April 9. It was charged at the time that delaying tactics were being used.

As I have said, on October 18 title was handed over from Russia to the United States. The Congress, however, did not get around to paying the bill until July 14, 1868.

It has been 97 years since the first Alaska Day. Since that time America's original investment has been repaid one hundred, nay, a thousandfold. Last year alone, Alaska oil and natural gas brought \$31,599,000 into our Nation's economy, and this is but a beginning. The next 97 years will bring expansion and development of undreamed of proportions to Alaska. All America will benefit from Secretary Seward's great wisdom in buying Alaska, and we can overlook with a smile his, perhaps, unnecessary generosity.

FISHING IN TERRITORIAL WATERS OF THE UNITED STATES—RESOLUTION

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, it was with great gratification that I learned today that the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission has gone on record in favor of S. 1988, the bill which was introduced by me to "prohibit fishing in the territorial waters of the United States and in certain other areas by persons other than nationals or inhabitants of the United States." This bill is now before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, having been passed by the Senate recently. It is cosponsored by Mr. ERVIN, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MORSE, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. INOUE, Mr. DODD, and Mr. RIBICOFF. The fisheries industry generally considers it to be of significance and importance and as its author I want to thank the members of the Gulf State Marine Fisheries Commission for this endorsement. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be included as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission go on record as approving in principle S. 1988 (88th Cong., 1st sess.), which legislation is designed to prohibit fishing in the territorial waters of the United States and in certain other areas by persons other than nationals or inhabitants of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That endorsement of the purposes of this proposed legislation is in no way intended to define territorial limits that are presently or may be claimed by any State of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the Senate Committee on Commerce, the members of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and the congressional delegations of the States of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

YES, VIRGINIA, THERE IS NEWS MANAGEMENT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, for years I have been receiving philatelic releases from the Post Office Department announcing issuance of new postage stamps.

The other day I received philatelic release No. 80 on Post Office stationery with an announcement that the second special Christmas postage stamp will be commemorated at Santa Claus, Ind. However, I was very disturbed to see that the Post Office Department in its announcement used the names of two majority party Senators and one Representative to announce the ceremony.

I feel that if Senators and Representatives would like to put out a news release about Santa Claus, Ind., or Christmas postage stamps they should do so on their own time and using their own paper and ink. The Post Office Department should stick to its ZIP code.

Under the title of "Yes, Virginia, There Is News Management," I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the Post Office release so that my colleagues can see this latest attempt at administration publicity efforts.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT PHILATELIC RELEASE No. 80

Senators VANCE HARTKE, BIRCH E. BAYH, and Congressman WINFIELD K. DENTON, of Evansville, Ind., announced today that nearby Santa Claus, Ind., will be the site of the first-day ceremony marking the issuance of the Post Office Department's second special Christmas postage stamp.

The Indiana Senators and Congressman said that Postmaster General John A. Gronowski had just informed them that the seasonally famous Indiana post office had been selected for the ceremony on November 1, during which the special stamp, featuring the national Christmas tree on the Ellipse near the White House in Washington, would first be sold to the public.

"Since nearly 2 million people a year and over 3 million Christmas cards pass through this unique Indiana community of only 35 residents, it is particularly suitable for the Post Office Department to issue the seasonal stamp here," Senator HARTKE said.

According to Congressman DENTON, the Santa Claus post office normally employs only two clerks but must add seven more employees during the Christmas season merely to satisfy the national demand for the popular Santa Claus, Ind., postmark.

The Post Office Department issued a Christmas stamp for the first time in history in 1962, and stocks were exhausted in many parts of the country despite a crash program to print a billion stamps.

"The Post Office Department has assured us that their printing plans, begun in the spring of this year, will provide enough stamps for all Christmas cards with an order of nearly 2 billion already in progress," Senator BAYH said.

Legend has it that the southern Indiana community got its unusual name on Christmas Eve of 1856 as town fathers in a local church struggled for a suitable name and were interrupted by the entrance of a gift-laden Santa Claus whose appearance prompted the children present to yell their recognition and thus name the town.

Robert Ripley, of "Believe It or Not" fame, put Santa Claus, Ind., on the map in

the late twenties when he mailed giant-sized postcards from the small post office there with the now famous Santa Claus postmark.

The November 1 date for the Christmas stamp dedication at Santa Claus was selected by the overwhelming majority of postmasters as a result of their experience with Christmas mail handling and stamp sales a year ago.

Following the initial sale and ceremonies in Santa Claus on November 1, the Christmas stamps will go on sale the next day at all 41,000 postal installations around the Nation.

ANTHRACITE COAL SUPPLIES

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, Maine is presently faced with an inadequate supply of coal for the current heating season. Because of this threat, I have been making efforts to rectify this situation and have been contacting Federal agencies on the matter.

I ask unanimous consent to place in the body of the RECORD a report received today from the Department of Commerce.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUSINESS AND DEFENSE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, D.C., October 23, 1963.

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: Mr. Dutton has sent us a copy of his letter to you of October 10 regarding the adequacy of anthracite coal supplies for the current heating season. Secretary Hodges has asked me to write to you indicating that we share your concern and that we are following very closely developments in the anthracite supply situation in respect to both the domestic and foreign markets. By reason of your expression of interest we are taking this occasion to give you what we have learned about the origin and nature of the present difficulties and what is being done to provide sufficient hard coal to U.S. consumers.

As you know the anthracite producing industry has suffered a continuing severe loss of domestic markets for more than 10 years. The closing of mines and curtailment of employment made the anthracite region of Pennsylvania one of the most grievously depressed in the Nation. With no reasonable prospect of checking, much less reversing the downward trend in domestic sales, producers and brokers looked abroad in the hope of recovering some of the market that had been lost there in recent years. The unusually hard winter of 1962-63 presented the opportunity to achieve a sizable increase in export shipments mainly to Western Europe.

We have been assured by the Department of the Interior that the increase in production in 1963 will more than cover the growth of exports, thus leaving sufficient anthracite for the domestic market to meet all reasonable demands. The Bureau of Mines estimates 1963 production through the first week in October at a figure of 2.2 million tons greater than for the corresponding period of 1962. Additional output for the calendar year 1963 is expected to exceed 1962 production by 3 million tons. Exports for the first 8 months were 900,000 tons ahead of last year and may top full year 1962 exports by 1.2 million to 1.5 million. The addition to our foreign exchange earnings of \$25-\$30 million represented by increased sales of this magnitude would be welcome indeed if achieved without deprivation of domestic consumers.

In summary, the picture we have given you of the anthracite situation is one of uneven distribution rather than general shortage. There are a number of reasons why certain dealers and areas may have inadequate supplies at this time, even though total supplies of anthracite may be sufficient for this heating season. Some dealers did not heed the urging of producers issued in the spring and delayed placing their orders. In past years prices turned soft in the spring and dealers were able to secure discounts in the summer months; this year prices remained firm and are slightly higher than a year ago. Further, some dealers, in an effort to beat an expected price rise, or to take advantage of competitor's short supplies, ordered larger quantities of coal than they have in the past at this time of the year. Still others, on the usual commercial criteria, are considered to be bad credit risks and their business is no longer wanted by the suppliers.

On the other hand some dealers, particularly those dependent on rail shipment, have legitimate complaints. There is strong evidence that truck trade has been getting in line ahead of rail trade at the mines and preparation plants. This situation reflects the fact that in a relatively tight market it is simpler and more convenient for the producers to serve those coal yards which get their supplies by truck. Therefore, it is not surprising that the bulk of complaints have come from New England and conversely that there have been no reports of supply difficulties from Pennsylvania dealers.

An attempt is now being made to deal with this problem of unequal distribution. In recent weeks some of the major producers have instituted an allocation program intended to redress the balance of shipments to rail versus truck customers. Under this arrangement shipments to New England should show an immediate improvement.

The Department of Commerce was represented at a meeting of producers and retail dealers last week at which an arrangement was agreed upon of allocating supplies to those areas and dealers which were in greatest need. Dealers will be urgently requested to place their complaints with their respective State associations to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Eastern States Retail Fuel Conference who will serve as clearing officer for the industry. Each dealer's complaint will be validated and, if found to be legitimate, will be referred to the president of the Anthracite Institute for corrective action by the producers.

In our view the industry's efforts to solve this problem by its own informal allocation should be given every encouragement and a fair chance of success. This way we avoid the permanent injury to our foreign markets for bituminous as well as anthracite coal which could result from unnecessary Government action. Nevertheless, we are mindful of our domestic needs and will continue to give close attention to anthracite distribution to see whether or not the industry arrangement will be effective.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL L. GOLDBY,
Administrator.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND REFUGEES

Mr. HART. Mr. President, stemming from the United Nations, there is a little known function that I would like to bring out today, on this 18th birthday of the United Nations organization. Literally millions of helpless people, including women and children, the halt and the lame, and fighters for freedom, have been helped by this great humanitarian effort. I refer, Mr. President, to the vital work

of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

This Government has played an important role by contributing funds and other resources to aid the efforts of the High Commissioner. I think it timely and useful that we be reminded of the accomplishments of this refugee program.

The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—UNHCR—was established in 1951 by resolution of the United Nations General Assembly to provide international protection for refugees. Most of these refugees were Europeans.

The High Commissioner strived to find permanent solutions to longstanding refugee problems by assisting governments and private organizations to repatriate refugees voluntarily, or assimilate them within new national communities.

Later, the General Assembly authorized the High Commissioner to provide material assistance to refugees to help them reestablish themselves; and in a series of resolutions starting in 1957, the General Assembly authorized the High Commissioner to exercise his good offices in assisting governments to resolve refugee problems on their territories which are not the concern of the United Nations.

The High Commissioner has thus not only discharged his responsibilities for securing the legal and political protection of refugees and carrying out his own assistance programs: he has also influenced and coordinated the work of other international organizations—both governmental and private—private voluntary agencies and governments of countries offering asylum to refugees. That is, he has not only served effectively as a prime mover in promoting the solution of refugee problems, but also as a catalytic agent to stimulate maximum contributions and effort on the part of the international community. The leadership role of the UNHCR during World Refugee Year—1959–60—when the value of international contributions in behalf of refugees exceeded \$92 million, is a notable example. The UNHCR carries out his functions in Europe, the Near East, Africa, the Far East, and the Western Hemisphere, and maintains offices in most of the countries within which refugees reside.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

The basic job of the UNHCR is to provide legal and political protection for refugees. To this end, he insures the application of international conventions, particularly the Geneva Convention of 1951 relating to the status of refugees which secures certain minimum basic rights for refugees. Without this protection their assimilation into new national communities can never be fully successful. These guarantees include the right for them to work in their country of residence, including exercise of the liberal professions; social security benefits; eligibility for public housing; education and welfare; and other social benefits. His office also protects the refugees against involuntary repatriation, while facilitating the voluntary repatriation of those who choose it. A

corollary activity is to insure the refugee's right to freedom of movement within and between countries, and their travel documentation.

The High Commissioner has placed great emphasis on his legal and political protection function. Partly through his efforts, 42 nations have adhered to the Geneva Convention. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have been naturalized within the countries offering them final resettlement, including tens of thousands who have been integrated within the countries which originally granted them asylum.

Especially important is the task of assuring generous asylum policies for political refugees in the various countries into which refugees flee. Almost without exception refugees fleeing from political persecution are granted asylum.

As of January 1, 1963, there were still an estimated 1,300,000 refugees throughout the world who were eligible for the High Commissioner's legal and political protection services.

UNHCR MATERIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Since 1955 the UNHCR has carried out material assistance programs designed to reestablish refugees within his mandate. During the last 3 years, he has also carried out, coordinated or contributed to programs, chiefly in Africa and Asia, for refugees who are not within his mandate.

The UNHCR's regular assistance program has primarily covered European refugees from communism in Europe, but has also included a program in the Far East for European refugees escaping from Communist China. It has concentrated on promoting integration within the asylum countries of the refugees who could not be emigrated to other countries. Using voluntary agencies as his primary contractors and operational agents, the UNHCR program provides counseling services, housing, grants to enable refugees to become reestablished in business or their liberal professions or trades, and similar measures.

It gives special attention to rehabilitating severely handicapped refugees through pensions, medical therapy, old-age homes and other forms of institutional placement. Interim care and maintenance assistance is given to the most needy cases.

When the UNHCR commenced its regular assistance program on a large scale in 1955 there were 270,000 unassimilated mandate refugees in Europe and elsewhere. There are today no more than 30,000 unassimilated refugees, despite the fact that over 300,000 new refugees have entered Europe during the intervening years, including 180,000 Hungarian refugees who escaped in 1956–57 after the abortive Hungarian revolt. This reduction has been brought about by the combined efforts of a number of agencies and governments. The UNHCR programs have provided assistance during this period to 137,000 refugees, and have been directly responsible for reestablishment—largely through local integration—of 82,000 refugees.

In his regular program the High Commissioner first attacked the problem of refugees who had been living in camps

for many years. By the end of 1962 he had successfully reestablished 32,000 of these refugees, leaving only 4,000 still in camps in Germany, Austria, Italy and Greece, all of whom will be reestablished by the end of 1963. During the past 2 years the UNHCR has shifted emphasis to solving the problem of out-of-camp refugees through country clearance programs. It is now engaged in a final 3-year effort to resolve this program completely by the end of 1965.

A particularly compassionate problem facing the UNHCR is that of the refugees who are severely handicapped by mental, physical, or social disabilities. These refugees, numbering several thousand, have been passed over many times by immigration missions from resettlement countries. The UNHCR instituted special programs, on an individual case basis, for solving the problems of each of these refugees and working out their successful rehabilitation. It employed a trained psychiatrist, for example, to direct a special mental health program in behalf of 1,800 hardship cases in this category. Half of these cases have now been successfully solved, and the other half are under treatment. Similarly, half of the 850 refugees suffering from particularly severe physical or social handicaps have now been resettled abroad on a self-sufficient basis, and the remainder of these cases are being processed for similar settlement. Another significant achievement was the successful local reestablishment, largely within Austria, of some 7,000 Hungarian freedom fighters who did not qualify for immigration to other countries. The High Commissioner expended \$11 million for this effort.

In the Far East the UNHCR has carried out a joint program with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration—ICEM—for the care and maintenance and oversea resettlement of European refugees—mostly White Russians—arriving in Hong Kong from Communist China. These refugees are the remnants of a group, with their families, who escaped into China from Russia just after the Bolshevik revolution over 40 years ago. They have been victimized within Communist China, and the Soviet Union has pressed for their forcible repatriation. This program, which has attracted worldwide attention, has successfully resettled over 13,000 of the refugees over the past few years, leaving only some 2,000 of the refugees still on mainland China to be assisted in the future.

The UNHCR's regular program has been funded through contributions from many governments, including the United States, voluntary agencies, and other private sources, and by the provision of matching funds by asylum countries for projects carried out within these countries. All told, contributions to this program to date have exceeded \$120 million, of which nearly half has come from the international community and slightly over half from the supporting contributions of the asylum governments.

THE UNHCR PROGRAM FOR ALGERIAN REFUGEES

From 1959 through 1962, the High Commissioner operating under a special

mandate from the U.N. General Assembly—carried out a program in behalf of over 200,000 Algerian refugees who fled from the war in Algeria into Morocco and Tunisia. Operating jointly with the League of Red Cross Societies, and with assistance received from many governments, including major contributions from the United States, the High Commissioner's office provided food, shelter, and clothing for these refugees while they were in Tunisia and Morocco. More than \$22 million was expended by the UNHCR and the Red Cross in this relief operation.

When the Evian Agreements made it possible for the refugees to return to Algeria in the summer of 1962, the High Commissioner participated in the supervision of the repatriation operation. This massive movement was carried out successfully in 2½ months.

The High Commissioner has also continued to provide assistance to these refugees to facilitate their reintegration into the war-torn economy of Algeria. This repatriation program brought an end to a compelling humanitarian problem, since 85 percent of the refugees were children, mothers, and elderly persons.

THE UNHCR GOOD OFFICES PROGRAM

The office of the UNHCR was established primarily to deal with the post-war problem of European refugees in Europe. The subsequent development of new and compelling refugee problems in other areas, notably Asia and Africa, influenced the United Nations General Assembly to pass several resolutions from 1957 onward authorizing the UNHCR to use its good offices in assisting refugees who are not the concern of the United Nations. Under this authority, the High Commissioner acted in a two-fold capacity: he has raised funds for asylum governments to help them meet the heavy financial burdens of caring for the refugees; and at the request of the asylum governments, he has arranged and supervised programs designed to reestablish the refugees.

The problem of over 1,200,000 refugees in Hong Kong has been dealt with primarily by the Kong Kong Government. However, the General Assembly passed resolutions in 1957 and 1962 calling upon the High Commissioner to solicit contributions from the international community to help meet this problem. The UNHCR has raised nearly \$1 million for Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macau which has been made available to help fund projects carried out by the Hong Kong and Macau Governments and by interested voluntary agencies. The UNHCR also contributed funds to the Government of Cambodia, at the latter's request, to help meet the refugee problem in that country.

The High Commissioner has been particularly active under his good offices function in helping to resolve refugee problems in Africa during the past 3 years. These problems involved some 6,000 refugees from Ghana who fled into Togo; over 150,000 Angolan refugees who entered the Congo; and 150,000 refugees from Rwanda who fled during 1961 into the neighboring asylum countries of Uganda, Tanganyika, Burundi and the

Kivu Province of the Congo. The pattern of UNHCR assistance has been similar in all of these cases. In each case the asylum government requested the UNHCR to coordinate the development of international assistance and to act jointly with it in supervising the assistance program; the UNHCR called upon the League of International Red Cross Societies and the voluntary agencies to provide resources and staff, acting as its operational agents; and the UNHCR arranged and supervised programs for resettling the refugees on land within the asylum countries. In addition to interim direct relief, the refugees have been given housing materials and construction tools, and seeds and agricultural implements, to help them become self-sufficient. Through these efforts the UNHCR was able to solve completely the problem in Togo by the end of 1962, and has made significant progress in resolving the problems of the Angolan and Rwanda refugees.

While the High Commissioner has devoted only about \$3 million of his own funds to these good offices programs, as in the case of the refugee problem in Europe, he has successfully mobilized the attention and resources of the international community toward helping to put an end to problems which are a threat to the peace and which arise from the disturbing political developments of the 20th century. Consistent with his mandate from the General Assembly, the High Commissioner has attacked all the problems within the purview of his office on a purely humanitarian and non-political basis.

Mr. President, this sums up in hard, cold, numerical facts, the accomplishments of the refugee program carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner. What I have been unable to do is to reflect the pathos, multiplied millions of times, signified by the refugees helped. Words could not accomplish this. Each of us would have to see for himself the privation, hunger, ill health and objection in the faces of these displaced persons of the world. This, of course, is impossible in this Chamber, but I ask each of you to reflect for a moment on this matter and join me in reaffirming our support and faith in this great humanitarian program.

In a sense, by aiding this vital program, we have lived up to the words of the Statue of Liberty, "Send these, the homeless, tempest tossed to me."

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, 18 years have passed since the U.S. Senate advised and consented, by a vote of 89 to 2 to the ratification of the United Nations Charter. I voted to consent to the U.N. Charter with the conviction that the United Nations would be an instrument to help maintain peace in the world, not by deciding the terms of settlements between nations, but by assisting them to obtain a peaceful settlement of differences through the prestige and the influence of public opinion developed on the basis of debates in the Assembly.

In signing the charter the United States pledged with 49 other nations to strive "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The 50 charter members, seeking to prevent future devastation such as the world had suffered from World War II, reaffirmed their "faith in fundamental human rights," and declared their intent to "promote social progress." Since 1945, 61 additional nations have subscribed to the principles of the U.N. Charter and the organization has labored valiantly in the attempt to establish the proper world conditions in which the important and humanitarian charter objectives might be realized.

Since its inception the United Nations has played an important role in the settling of many international crises and in the mediation of numerous smaller controversies among nations. From Kashmir to the Congo, from Korea to Cuba, in the Suez and other areas, the U.N. has been significantly committed to the defense of freedom and the preservation of peace. The struggle thus far has been tedious and costly. Yet, as new areas of conflict appear in many parts of the world, such as in Yemen and Malaysia, we realize that the struggle is far from over.

In dealing with issues of vast international implication, the United Nations has demonstrated great versatility. It provided the forces for freedom in Korea. It maintains a peacekeeping mission in the Middle East. At the same time it provides the world with a continuous forum for debate, a channel for the presentation of national positions, and a center for important negotiations. Although some of these functions have been subjects of vehement criticism, each has been and continues to be significant.

Other aspects of the world body's operations, although they have received less publicity, are equally important in attempting to carry out the charter's objectives. Such agencies as WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF, FAO, and the ILO are constantly striving to provide the world's population with a more meaningful and satisfactory life and a higher and more secure standard of living. The assistance in public administration as well as the application of science and technology in less developed areas are integral parts of the war on want and poverty. The stimulation of economic development, the promotion of international trade, the increase of food production, and the uplifting of health standards and literacy rates, are all of major importance in closing the gap between the have and have-not nations. In advancing social welfare and human rights, these agencies are contributing to the conditions which formulate the basis for peace in the world.

It is imperative that we maintain the proper perspective in considering the appropriate role of the United Nations. While we praise its possibilities, we must also be aware of its limitations. However, although the organization has not been completely successful in all that it has undertaken, it is still a valuable force for good in the world and I believe merits our continued support.

To be effective and useful, it is obvious that the United Nations must have adequate financial resources. If all member nations would meet their financial obligations this would be possible. Unfortunately some countries have proved unwilling to fulfill their commitments, thereby placing heavy burdens on other nations, particularly the United States. The future success of the U.N. depends on the active support of all member nations, not just a few of the larger ones. If that body is to become financially dependent on the United States, it will lose its character as an independent body standing on its own two feet and its value as a constructive force for peace in the world will be reduced.

Today we honor the United Nations and its achievements. At the same time we honor the many dedicated men and women who have contributed to its development. We must remember, however, that this body can only be as effective in its effort to promote peace among the nations of the world and social welfare for the many poverty-stricken peoples of the world as its members will it to be. Thus, on this 24th of October, we offer our hope that the United Nations will continue to be strengthened as a vital instrument in man's quest for peace, progress, and justice.

PLIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UKRAINE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the President of the North Dakota Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, recently wrote to me about the plight of the people of the Ukraine. In his letter he enclosed an editorial from the Bismarck Tribune, Bismarck, N. Dak., entitled, "Hunger Again 30 Years After," along with a leaflet "Famine in Ukraine—a Warning for the West." I want to call these two items to the attention of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and leaflet were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bismarck (N. Dak.) Tribune, Oct. 12, 1963]

HUNGER AGAIN 30 YEARS AFTER

Food shortages in Russia come on the bitterly appropriate anniversary of an historic famine. It was 30 years ago that the great hunger of 1929-33 brought death to millions in the Ukraine.

Famine then was a weapon of Soviet terrorism. The Ukraine's 60 million acres of land produced wheat for some 20 million tons of bread. It provided, between 1909 and 1913, 20 percent of Europe's grain supply.

But Ukrainians resisted the collectivizing of their country, and Moscow Communists resorted to drastic measures. They confiscated 500,000 farms, drove 2.5 million people from their homes, deported a million peasants to slave labor camps and set out to reduce the Ukraine by starvation.

An edict of August 2, 1932, forbade peasants, under penalty of death, to take any of the food they produced. They were forbidden to leave villages in search of food outside the Ukraine. All food products of the Ukraine were designed for export. While Communist militia stood guard over grain elevators full to overflowing, families died of starvation in streets and cannibalism re-

portedly became widespread. Ukrainians say between 6 and 7 million of their people died.

The anniversary is called to mind by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky of Steele, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, State branch.

Thirty years ago, famine in a food-rich land was calculated and artificial and a weapon of subjugation. Moscow is not exactly free with information as to what has produced this year's food shortages, but that they exist is known to be a fact. For some millions of persons who lived through the famine of the early thirties, this will be a painful anniversary.

FAMINE IN UKRAINE—A WARNING FOR THE WEST

The Kremlin today dominates one-third of the world and threatens the entire free world with subjugation and tyranny. The picture of conditions in the subjugated territories and enslaved nations shows only terror, slavery, mass genocide, persecution, and misery.

This leaflet is being issued upon the 30th anniversary of one of the most horrible crimes committed by the Kremlin upon its victims—an artificial famine calculated and carried out to break the will of the Ukrainians in their resistance and opposition to the regime.

Ukraine, with a population of 45 million has the richest farming land in Europe. Sixty million acres of land produce wheat for 20 million tons of bread. From 1909 to 1913 Ukraine provided 20 percent of Europe's grain supply. It was known as the granary or breadbasket of Europe.

In 1920 the Russian Communists overran Ukraine and made it their colony. They utilized the resources of Ukraine to develop their power and plans for sowing the seeds of chaos and revolution in the world. They introduced a system of slave labor in order to obtain products and goods cheaply and in this way to undermine the world economy.

In 1929, taking advantage of the economic crisis in the world, they began a 5-year drive against the peasants, forcing them into the collective farms. The Kremlin used the most diabolical methods on its resisting victims. In Ukraine, where the inhabitants by nature and tradition are most radically opposed to collectivization and state regimentation the effects were unbelievably horrible. From 1929 to 1932 the Moscow Communists confiscated 500,000 farms; drove 2,500,000 people with their children and aged out of their homes; deported 1 million peasants with their children, wives, aged and ailing to slave labor camps into the tundras and Siberia to die of exhaustion and hunger.

With resistance still strong, Moscow resorted to extreme measures and calculated a plan of starvation. All food products in Ukraine were designated for export. By official edict of August 2, 1932, the peasants were forbidden under penalty of death to take any of the food they produced. They were forbidden to leave their villages in search of food beyond the borders of Ukraine, while throughout the other territories of the Soviet Union food was plentiful. Entire families died in the streets of the villages in the terrible tortures of starvation. Cannibalism was widespread. The grain elevators were overflowing, but they were vigilantly guarded by the armed Communist militia to prevent the people from reaching the life-giving grain—all of which was removed from Ukraine. The International Red Cross offered aid and relief to the victims of Moscow but the Soviet Government vehemently denied the very existence of famine and the need for aid. As a result of this famine between 6 and 7 million Ukrainians died.

Such methods are used by the Kremlin to Russify and subjugate the captive nations in the U.S.S.R. Even these methods, however, are not completely successful. The

love of freedom is so strong and so firmly entrenched in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainians that they continue to this day to resist actively and passively, the tyranny in their land. They will continue to resist until their final goal of a free and independent nation is achieved. And these gallant people deserve the support and encouragement of every American who believes in the principles of democracy and human rights.

The suffering and misery of the Ukrainians throughout their long enslavement in the Soviet Union should serve the free world as a warning. We should not permit ourselves to be blinded to the real aims of the Kremlin by the current Russian peace offers. For the Kremlin offers the world not peace, but misery and enslavement.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE SUPPORTS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a recent statement of the Catholic Association for International Peace in support of the civil rights bill be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. It singles out for special mention the need for FEPC legislation, for greater powers for the Attorney General, and for action to eliminate segregation in public accommodations. This is another expression of the growing moral definition this issue is being given throughout the land. In recent months I have noted statements of this kind appearing in the RECORD from the following church groups: General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, the Fourth General Synod of the United Church of Christ, the Catholic Bishops of the United States, the Washington Hebrew Congregation, the Church Council of the American Lutheran Church, the Methodist Conference on Human Relations, and the President of the Lutheran World Federation. This is a growing voice and represents something very fundamental in the thinking of our countrymen. I urge the Members of the Senate to take the time to read these statements.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE IN SUPPORT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The Catholic Association for International Peace, which seeks peace with dignity for all men throughout the world, strongly endorses the civil rights bill now being considered by Congress. The measures which this bill advocates are justified in terms of traditional Catholic principles regarding racial justice, principles which are being articulated with ever-increasing refinement and urgency.

In 1958, the Catholic bishops of the United States issued a statement on "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience." The bishops pointed out that, although great strides had been made since they had addressed themselves to the evils of racism 15 years earlier, in recent years "the march toward justice and equality has been slowed if not halted in some areas. The transcendent moral issues involved have become obscured, and possibly forgotten."

Five years later, in spite of recent advances, these words are still applicable in large parts of our country, North and South. And it remains true that, as the bishops said, "the

heart of the race question is moral and religious." Enforced segregation carries with it "the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race. We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights."

In this country, enforced segregation has long deprived the Negro of rights and privileges which, in justice, are his. In the basic areas of education, employment, housing, and voting, oppression conditions have prevented him from exercising his full human rights. The various evils which have followed upon this oppression, which are a direct consequence of segregation, are now being ascribed to the Negro and offered as reasons for continuing the very conditions that engendered them. This circle must be broken and the measures contained in the civil rights bill, as it was recently reported out of a House Judiciary Subcommittee, are designed to do just that. The provisions directed against segregation in public accommodations, the injunctive relief to be invested in the Office of the Attorney General in the cases where constitutional rights are violated, the FEPC legislation—all insure that the Negro will more nearly attain that status in our society which is properly his.

The Catholic Association for International Peace supports the civil rights bill, not because it will, if enacted, reduce the threat of widespread violence—although it may do that; not because it will enhance the prestige of our country in other lands—although it may do that; not because it will increase the strength of our economy—although it may do that. The CAIP supports this bill and urges that it be enacted without crippling compromise because it is designed to remove from the Negro unjust burdens under which he has so long labored, because it is designed to insure for the Negro the exercise of rights which he has been so long denied.

These rights, and their concomitant duties derive from the very nature of man. The Catholic bishops of the United States said in their joint pastoral letter of August 23, 1963:

"Respect for personal rights is not only a matter of individual moral duty; it is also a matter for civic action. Pope John stated: 'The chief concern of civil authorities must * * * be to insure that these rights are acknowledged, respected, coordinated with other rights, defended and promoted, so that in this way each one may more easily carry out his duties.'

"We know that public authority is obliged to help correct the evils of unjust discrimination practiced against any group or class. We also recognize that every minority group in America seeking its lawful rights has the obligation of respecting the lawful rights of others.

"It is clear that the racial question confronts the conscience of every man, no matter what his degree of direct or indirect involvement. Indeed, the conscience of the Nation is on trial."

NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE STATES NEED FOR GI BILL

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. John C. Esty, Jr., writing in the New York Times magazine of October 20, has presented us with an excellent discussion of the inequities of our present Selective Service System in an article entitled: "The Draft: Many Threatened, Few Chosen."

Although I urge the Senators to read this excellent article in its entirety, I would like to quote a brief section in which Mr. Esty characterizes the posi-

tion in which the young man of draft age finds himself.

Even though many of his peers actually have served in the Armed Forces (by earlier enlistment), the average draft-eligible 23-year-old sees only a majority of his friends getting deferred because of a personal situation which differs only slightly from his own. One friend happens to have found a girl who will marry him. Another has enough money to go to graduate school. Another happens to incline to medicine or the ministry. The inevitable result is that he wonders why he should be the one to get hooked. I am afraid that a young man today, instead of feeling guilty about not serving, feels somewhat inept if he can't work out a way to avoid the draft.

Mr. Esty does make one error in stating that the cold war GI bill never seems to be reported out of committee. In order to set the record straight, I would like to note that the cold war GI bill has been favorably reported out of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in 1959, 1961, and 1963. In 1959 the cold war GI bill was passed by the Senate; and during this session of Congress, S. 5 has been on the Senate Calendar since July 2.

Mr. Esty, however, is absolutely correct in stating that the passage of the cold war GI bill would be an excellent method to at least reduce the inequities suffered by those who actually serve in the Armed Forces while their contemporaries continue their civilian educations and occupations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article written by Mr. John C. Esty, Jr., entitled "The Draft: Many Threatened, Few Chosen" be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DRAFT: MANY THREATENED, FEW CHOSEN—OUR SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM IS SO SELECTIVE, SAYS A CRITIC, THAT ONLY A MINORITY ACTUALLY SERVES, AND IT IS TIME WE DID SOMETHING ABOUT ITS MANY INEQUITIES

(By John C. Esty, Jr.)

(NOTE.—John C. Esty, Jr., headmaster of Taft School, was for 10 years associate dean at Amherst, where he developed a special interest in the draft while counseling students about it. He served in the Air Force, 1951-53.)

When President Kennedy exempted married men from the draft a few weeks ago, it was evident from the news stories that many reporters and readers did not fully comprehend what was going on. Yet the reaction to the President's announcement was typical of the shallow understanding which has characterized most reports about the draft for the past 12 years. It is unfortunate that a national policy that affects so many lives does not yield more readily to simple exposition.

In this instance, it was announced that the manpower pool now contained 1.7 million eligible men available for military service. Since draft quotas for the coming year are expected to average about 7,000 per month, there was obviously a vast oversupply for a limited demand. The solution seemed reasonable enough: defer the category with the greatest claim to an uninterrupted life. Thus, married men, who comprised 3 out of every 10 draftees, and 340,000 of the 1.7 million men on the waiting list, are free.

These were the facts, and the only real news interest seemed to be the possibility of a rash

of precipitant marriages. A few polls were taken, a few interviews were sought, and everyone seemed to agree that 2 years in the Army was better than a lifetime of K.P. with a wife you didn't love.

This kind of oversimplification obscures the fact that the Executive order is just the latest in a series of jerry-built measures designed to remove some of the inequities, some of the inadequacies, some of the strains and some of the ridiculous internal inconsistencies in our present manpower procurement system. There are alternatives to the Selective Service System, but we seem too attached to this faithful old machine—held together with baling wire—to consider seriously some other way to man our cold-war garrison.

In order to understand the present weakness of the draft mechanism and consider new solutions intelligently, it is necessary first to understand how the system works and what its impact is on individual young men.

By act of Congress, every American male is required to register with his local draft board on his 18th birthday or within 5 days afterward. If he is away from home, he may register with any convenient board, which will then forward his papers to the home board. Usually within a year, he receives a classification questionnaire, from which his board learns of his occupational status and his immediate plans. At this point most young men are classified 1A—meaning available for service—unless they are clearly deferrable by virtue of the fact that they are engaged in essential industry or farming, are ministers (or studying to become same), are in medical school or, in some cases, in other schools or colleges. One's classification doesn't matter, anyway, until he approaches his 23d birthday, at which time his status is examined again to see if he is deferrable. If he is not, he is ordered for pre-induction physical and mental tests. If he passes these, he is inducted into the Army in about a month.

There is a priority of draftable categories established by Executive order. Local draft boards have been required to exhaust all men in each of the following categories before moving to the next:

1. Recalcitrants and draft dodgers.
2. Volunteers—in the order in which they volunteered.
3. Nonfathers between 19 and 26—oldest first.
4. Fathers between 19 and 26—oldest first.
5. Men over 26, whose liability has been extended because of previous deferment.
6. Finally, those between 18½ and 19.

Currently, half the draft quotas are filled by volunteers (the period of service is the same) and the remainder has come from nonfathers from age 26 down to age 23. When draft quotas were sharply increased during the Berlin crisis of 1961, the additional men came from category 3 down to age 22½. The new Executive order splits up category 3 and promotes bachelors ahead of married men. Since there will now be fewer men (just bachelors) in the third category, the age of vulnerability, 23, will certainly drop—perhaps to 22½.

The priority chart shows some of the ways to avoid being drafted: marry or turn 26 or don't turn 19. It doesn't show the possibilities of deferment for other reasons, and it doesn't indicate how many men are involved in each group. To get this information we must take a different approach and examine what will happen this year to the men who will turn 23. The following figures are only approximate, but they do indicate the order of magnitude. The projection is based on the situation existing before the new order deferring married men: 1,300,000 men will reach age 23; 650,000 of these will not qualify on physical and mental grounds; 400,000 will have served or be serving in the Armed Forces by virtue of a previous enlist-

ment; 130,000 will be deferred as students, teachers, or for other reasons; 80,000 will be drafted; 40,000 will be in uncertain status.

About 3 in 10 draftees recently have been married, so the new order will defer about 24,000 of the 80,000 men who would have been drafted. There will probably not be enough qualified bachelors among the 40,000 23-year-olds in the "uncertain" category to make up the difference; hence the need to move to a younger age level. A projection similar to the one above, for the age group from 22½ to 23 suggests that this age group will produce at least 60,000 qualified bachelors. With less than half that number actually needed, we can predict that the new age of vulnerability will probably be around 22 years and 10 months. The only clarity that really emerges from these figures is that every physically and mentally qualified bachelor who reaches his 23d birthday will be drafted, unless he has reason to be deferred.

The reader who has had the patience to study these figures (and part of the problem is that very few do) will begin to see why many are threatened but few are called. Of the 1,300,000 men who will turn 23 this year, only half will qualify for the draft and a quarter of these will not have to serve. By the time this age group reaches 26, only about 40 percent will have served in the Armed Forces. But the major implication of the figures is that only 80,000 men out of a potential of 1,300,000 (less than 10 percent) will actually be drafted.

The new Executive order will not alter this incredibly low ratio; it will serve mainly to remove uncertainty from the lives of the married men. To make matters worse, the number of men who turn 23 each year is dramatically increasing, so that if draft quotas remain about the same, the ratio may drop well below 1 in 10. The inequity is obvious.

Even though many of his peers actually have served in the Armed Forces (by earlier enlistment), the average draft-eligible 23-year-old sees only a majority of his friends getting deferred because of a personal situation which differs only slightly from his own. One friend happens to have found a girl who will marry him. Another has enough money to go to graduate school. Another happens to incline to medicine or the ministry. The inevitable result is that he wonders why he should be the one to get "hooked." I am afraid that a young man today, instead of feeling guilty about not serving, feels somewhat inept if he can't work out a way to avoid the draft.

This observation is corroborated in the report of a 10-year study by the Conservation of Human Resources project at Columbia University. According to the director, Eli Ginzberg, "Most young Americans grow up without the understanding of military obligation, with the consequence that if and when they are called to duty they view it as an imposition, an annoyance, or a stroke of bad luck that they should get caught while so many others escaped." Professor Ginzberg concludes that the present attitudes of American youth toward military service are an "invitation to national disaster."

Moral erosion and confusion in one's sense of duty are not the only negative effects of our highly Selective Service System. As more and more deferment categories are set up to drain off the manpower pool, more and more youthful decisions are influenced by the chance to escape the draft. After 10 years of counseling college students on military service, I have seen this effect firsthand.

A student chooses his major field because it leads to a job in an essential industry. A senior plans to keep his student deferment by continuing on to graduate school, even though it makes no sense educationally. A career field is chosen arbitrarily just because it will mean an automatic deferment. Some students are paralyzed for effective planning

of their lives because they can't figure out where the draft fits in.

And now, I suppose, the order deferring married men can't help but affect the thinking and planning of a great many young couples. It strikes me as ironic that with all the current concern over Federal control of education and interstate eating places, Selective Service may well exert a far more invidious and subtle form of control than we have ever suspected.

It has been necessary to renew the current Selective Service legislation every 4 years since 1951, but congressional debate has typically been desultory. The act has passed each time by overwhelming majorities mostly because of powerful bipartisan support from the House and Senate Armed Forces Committees.

With the responsibility of raising an army for the cold war, these men have not been willing to take the risk of trying new approaches to manpower procurement, and they cannot admit that the situation may now be too complex for old answers. The principle of present needs has always overwhelmed the principles of constitutionality, universality, and equity. Unfortunately, the principles back of our military conscription have not been fully explored since the 1951 hearings.

Confusion over principle is obvious from the fact that the Selective Service System is used to implement the Universal Military Service and Training Act of 1951. Present practice makes a mockery of the original intent that every able-bodied young man serve his country. Our current difficulties arise from the strain of maintaining a semblance of universality while armed service needs dictate greater and greater selectivity. The time has probably come when we can no longer reconcile these opposites and must choose between them. At this point new possibilities and proposals emerge rapidly.

If we determine—as a matter of principle—that every young man is needed in the service of his country, then we need only to expand our concept of national service to achieve universality and fairness. Clearly only a few will serve by carrying a gun. Some sort of Civilian Conservation Corps could be created with a therapeutic division for erstwhile 4-F's. The Army's famous literacy courses could be invoked for the illiterates. The Peace Corps—both domestic and international—could count for national service, as could work in hospitals or social agencies. Perhaps, too, public school teaching for 3 years might be equivalent to Army service for 2.

Surprisingly enough, this scheme is only the logical extension of what is going on now with all the kinds of deferments granted by local draft boards. It would require only a slightly broader vision of how a young man might serve his country.

On the other hand, it might be more feasible to develop a completely voluntary military establishment and forget about compulsory service altogether. Here again we are not so far from this extreme as one might think.

The annual replacement need for our present establishment of 2.7 million men is about 600,000. The Army could well get along without its 80,000 draftees, who aren't around long enough to train for any significant jobs and whose reenlistment rate is less than 15 percent, compared with an overall rate of 54 percent. The draft mainly exists to pressure those other half-million men into enlisting, but no one is exactly sure how many would fall to enlist if there were no draft.

We have a new military service pay bill, and jobs are scarce in many sections of the country. Constant efforts to make service life attractive and professionally rewarding have steadily pushed up the reenlistment rate. Just a few more moves in this direc-

tion might well enable the Armed Forces to compete with the civilian economy for their manpower.

If we must continue with our present system, there are still a number of devices which would help to reduce the uncertainties and redress the inequities.

Mental and physical tests could be given at the time of initial registration so that the half of each age group who are destined to be disqualified would not have to wait 5 years to find out. The GI bill (which is constantly before some committee, but never seems to be reported out) could be reinstated as partial compensation to the few who get called. Since the Armed Forces would much rather conscript men under 22, the age of freedom might be lowered from 26 to 22. This would mean that many more men would escape the draft, but they are now, anyway—except that now they don't know it until they are 26.

None of these proposals makes any sense if one views the draft as operating satisfactorily, or as the best answer we have to the manpower problem. But no one who has listened to the young men whose lives are involved can accept those premises. Even if the present inequities and inadequacies are accepted as sacrifices to expediency, it must be understood that they can only worsen in the future. As the Selective Service System strains and creaks under its impossible task, it must be understood that each stopgap measure to keep it working has sociological and psychological implications far beyond the immediate problem.

In 1959, an amendment to the draft act was offered, which would have extended the law for only 2 years. A Presidential commission was to conduct a full-scale study of all aspects of manpower procurement and report back within that time. The amendment was defeated because there wasn't time to ask such fundamental questions.

Now we have 3½ years before the present act expires. A Presidential commission could be appointed now to reestablish the principles on which we base our military manpower procurement. It could explore the wider effects of our present system, and develop new concepts and alternatives more suitable to our changing needs. Then Congress would be in a better position to produce legislation sufficiently free from ambiguity and inequity to rekindle a concern for national service. Perhaps then it would not be considered slightly odd for a young man to ask what he can do for his country.

SALUTE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, today marks the birthday of the United Nations. Many changes have occurred since this international body came into existence on October 24, 1945. The fact that we have come these 18 years through international tribulations that in previous eras have inevitably led to large-scale conflicts with the world still reasonably intact is due in large measure to the work of the United Nations.

As in all human endeavor the United Nations is not perfect, but in those fields where it can logically work it has done a solid job and achieved substantial results. In the everyday working of our diplomacy it provides an extremely useful forum for the interchange of ideas and understanding so necessary to successful negotiation.

Mr. President, I would like to salute the United Nations for a job well done and wish it continued success in the future. It has demonstrated that cooperation between nations is feasible and that the resort to arms is not inevitable.

The New York Times of today carried an editorial which outlines the hope for the future of the United Nations and the need for our continued support of that organization. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U.N. AT 18

As the United Nations marks its 18th birthday, the agenda before the General Assembly is long on problems; difficulties of administration and representation appear frozen, and there is no want of crises either in the headquarters building or in many parts of the world that have become the U.N.'s province.

Why, then, can the chief U.S. spokesman at the U.N., Ambassador Stevenson, say that this birthday is the brightest in the history of the organization? Principally for the very reason that the U.N. is so heavily burdened. It has become the place for nations to turn to: for new nations to be heard and old ones to use more frequently as a forum for diplomacy. "Faith in the world alliance for peace" is rising, Mr. Stevenson said. The detractors who contend that the United Nations jeopardizes the sovereignty of the United States no longer find an important audience in Congress or across the country.

When the U.N. came into existence on October 24, 1945, the roster of its members was less than half of that today. Effective representation is vital if the world organization is to function skillfully as a peacekeeping agency. Certainly the permanent membership of the Security Council, born out of the Second World War, can be broadened; the nonpermanent membership could also be expanded more nearly to recognize emerging continents and new alignments.

The very peacekeeping operations that give the U.N. its teeth are at the same time the main reason for its financial crisis. Payments for one of both of the U.N. special forces standing guard in the Middle East and the Congo have been refused by the Soviet Union, France and other states. Unless they meet their obligations the U.N. will have to limit its peacekeeping activities to nonfighting operations, and its effectiveness as a force for peace will be severely limited if not destroyed.

CORDOVA, ALASKA, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ENDORSES ABSTENTION PRINCIPLE IN FISHERIES

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, inasmuch as the fishery problems of the North Pacific remain unsolved and are to be considered at a later date, it is pertinent to comment on the September 10, 1963, resolution passed by the Cordova, Alaska, Chamber of Commerce.

The resolution deals specifically with the abstention principle which gives to a nation exclusive right to a fishery if that nation "has subjected one of its own coastal fisheries to investigation and regulation for the purpose of conserving the fisheries and is making as full use of it as should be made." Such exclusive rights would extend as far the resource itself.

Thus, reads the resolution of the Cordova Chamber of Commerce:

Be it resolved by the Cordova Chamber of Commerce of Cordova, Alaska, That it urges representatives of the United States, Canada, and Japan to renew the abstention principle

at their meeting in Tokyo on September 16, 1963.

Copies of this resolution were made available to Ambassador Benjamin Smith II, head of the U.S. delegation, as well as to members of the Alaska congressional delegation. My able colleague, Senator E. L. "BOB" BARTLETT, a man most knowledgeable in fishery matters, was a member of the U.S. delegation.

Now that the Senate has given its approval to S. 1988 which would make possible the enforcement of our 3-mile fishing limit, it is imperative that we take the second important step in this area which would be to extend the fisheries limit to 12 miles if and when a Governor of a State makes such a request.

My bill, S. 1816, would make this possible. The chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, my able colleague and friend, WARREN MAGNUSON, has advised me that his committee is "very conscious of the importance of the 12-mile fishing zone." I believe it is high time Congress took action.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the Cordova abstention resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE CORDOVA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CORDOVA, ALASKA

Whereas the welfare of the Alaska salmon industry is of prime importance to the economy of Cordova; and

Whereas the welfare of this industry is seriously endangered if the abstention policy formulated by the United States, Canada, and Japan 10 years ago is rescinded; and

Whereas the abstention principle is based on the Truman proclamation establishing that any nation that has subjected one of its own coastal fisheries to investigation and regulation for the purpose of conserving the fishery and is making as full use of it as should be made, has an exclusive right to that fishery as far off shore as it extends; and

Whereas American salmon fishermen, the industry and government have abided by the terms of both the Truman proclamation and the subsequent abstention principle; and

Whereas both United States and Canadian fishermen are prohibited from net fishing for salmon beyond the 3 mile limit on the high seas in the interest of conservation and proper management of the salmon fisheries: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Cordova Chamber of Commerce of Cordova, Alaska, That it urges representatives of the United States, Canada, and Japan to renew the abstention principle at their meeting in Tokyo on September 16, 1963.

Adopted this 10th day of September 1963.

FRANK BURNS,
President.
BART HALL,
Secretary.

CHILEAN CULTURE

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I would like to commend the Republic of Chile and the Honorable Ambassador of Chile, Sergio Gutierrez-Olivos, for their excellent cultural program which has been presented during the month of October, entitled "Image of Chile." President Kennedy stated in a speech on

the Alliance for Progress on March 13, 1963:

We invite our friends in Latin America to contribute to the enrichment of life and culture in the United States. We need teachers of your literature and history and tradition, opportunities for our young people to study in your universities, access to your music, your art, and the thoughts of your great philosophers. For we know we have much to learn.

The Chileans have responded magnificently to this invitation.

The inaugural program of the "Image of Chile" on September 22 in the West Auditorium of the State Department gave us an example of what we have been missing. The Ancient Music Group of the Catholic University of Chile, played, besides familiar works of the 16th and 17th centuries, indigenous music of the same period. To quote Irving Lowens in the Evening Star, September 25, 1963:

The Chileans made their strongest impression—in the alternately simple and exotic music of their own country.

Of the director, Sylvia Soubllette:

Miss Soubllette was trying to show that Chileans know the wonderful and too long neglected heritage of mediaeval and renaissance music. Chile not only shares this heritage but has an ancient music of its own worth hearing.

Since the inaugural concert, we have been treated to "An Evening With Claudio Arrau," in which the distinguished pianist presented an all-Beethoven program at the State Department under the sponsorship of Mrs. John F. Kennedy and the members of the President's Cabinet.

The "Image of Chile" program has included a photographic exhibit; a panel discussion of Latin American poetry, literature, folklore, and theater; a piano recital by the talented and beautiful pianist Ena Bronstein; and a folklore program of traditional Chilean music and dancing. It includes an exhibit of Chilean art which will be shown in Washington in November and then appear in other cities in the United States later this year. I am both pleased and honored that the art exhibit will come to the Walker Art Institute in Minneapolis in December of this year.

"The Image of Chile" program offers us an opportunity to learn about and appreciate the rich cultural tradition of Chile. It brings to our attention a phase of Latin American life about which we seldom hear—the rich artistic, literary, and musical traditions of a cultured and sophisticated people.

"The Image of Chile" program has been brought to the American public through the efforts of the Chilean Ambassador and his staff, with the financial support of Chilean citizens and business firms, and U.S. businesses located in Chile. It is a superb example of the type of cultural exchange program that can be accomplished through both public and private support.

I hope it is the first of many to be presented by our Latin American neighbors and I also hope that the United States will be prepared to send to Latin America programs similar to the superb "Image of Chile" festival which we have engaged this month.

I ask unanimous consent that selected portions of the brochure "Image of Chile" be inserted into the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the selected portions of the brochure were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IMAGE OF CHILE

Chile, fértil provincia y señalada
En la región Antártica famosa,
De remotas naciones respetada
Por fuerte, principal, y poderosa;
La gente que produce es tan granada,
Tan soberbia, gallarda y belicosa
Que no ha sido por rey jamás regida,
Ni a extranjero dominio sometida.

—Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, LA ARAUCANA, 1569.

Chile, fertile province, famous
In the vast Antarctic region,
Known to far-flung mighty nations
For her queenly grace and courage,
Has produced a race so noble,
Dauntless, bellicose and haughty,
That by king it ne'er was humbled
Nor to foreign sway submitted.

—From the translation of C. M. Lancaster and P. T. Manchester.

We invite our friends in Latin America to contribute to the enrichment of life and culture in the United States. We need teachers of your literature and history and tradition, opportunities for our young people to study in your universities, access to your music, your art, and the thought of your great philosophers. For we know we have much to learn.

In this way you can help to bring a fuller spiritual and intellectual life to the people of the United States, and contribute to understanding and mutual respect among the nations of the hemisphere.—President John F. Kennedy, on the Alliance for Progress, March 13, 1961.

We willingly take up President Kennedy's friendly invitation and challenge, for it affords us a unique opportunity to fulfill several desirable objectives. It permits us to portray, even in fragmentary form, the cultural heritage of a distant land still too little known and understood in this great sister Republic. It encourages us to pioneer an effort which we are sure will be emulated by other nations of Latin America, each with an eloquent and important expression of our common spiritual legacy.

Finally, it permits us to reciprocate in some small measure the wealth of knowledge and ideas that flows from the United States to the rest of the world, and give form to the esteem and affection in which we hold this Nation and its people.

I know I will be pardoned if I here voice my appreciation of the devotion, effort, and ideas which my small group of colleagues at the Embassy of Chile has brought to the organization of this program.

We at the Embassy of Chile have not been alone in this venture, and elsewhere in this brochure I have attempted to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the various organizations, enterprises, and individuals who gave so generously of their support and collaboration.—Sergio Gutiérrez-Olivos, Ambassador of Chile.

IMAGE OF CHILE INAUGURAL

Sunday, September 22, 8:30 p.m., Department of State, West Auditorium (black tie). Invitations to be distributed.

The underlying philosophy of "Image of Chile" will be the theme of the inaugural program of the series, sponsored by the members of the President's Cabinet. Secretary of State Dean Rusk will open the program with a brief introduction, and will be followed by Leonard Bernstein, distinguished conductor, pianist, and composer, and Ambassador Sergio Gutiérrez-Olivos, of Chile.

The Ancient Music Group of the Catholic University of Chile will present a concert of old European and 18th century Chilean and Mexican music on early instruments. The program will close with a recital of Chilean poetry by Felicia Montealegre, equally celebrated as a Chilean artist and as Mr. Bernstein's wife.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBIT

September 22–October 24, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, Department of State, West Foyer. Public invited.

The exhibit will include works of representative Chilean photographers which present an image of the land, the people, and the life of Chile.

RECITALS OF ANCIENT MUSIC

Tuesday, September 24, 8:30 p.m., Washington Cathedral, Wisconsin and Massachusetts Avenues NW. Public invited.

The Ancient Music Group of the Catholic University of Chile will present a concert of old European and 18th century Chilean music on early instruments. The concert is sponsored by the Washington Choral Society.

Saturday, September 28, 2:30 p.m., National Gallery of Art, East Garden Court. Invitations to be distributed.

This concert will be sponsored by the members of the President's Cabinet and preceded by a brief introduction by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall.

IMAGE OF THE POETRY

Friday, September 27, 8:30 p.m., Georgetown University, Copley Lounge, 36th and O Streets NW. Public invited.

A selected group of panelists will discuss Latin American poetry, with special emphasis on Chilean poetry. The program is sponsored by the Latin American Forum of Georgetown University.

The Embassy of Chile has invited Richard Eberhart, Frank B. Gibney, Langston Hughes, Randall Jarrell, James Laughlin, Muna Lee, Robert Lowell, Archibald McLeish, and Howard Moss to participate in the discussion. Fernando Alegria, noted Chilean writer now teaching at the University of California, will act as moderator.

AN EVENING WITH CLAUDIO ARRAU

Monday, September 30, 8:30 p.m., Department of State, West Auditorium. By invitation of Mrs. John F. Kennedy and the members of the President's Cabinet.

Under the sponsorship of Mrs. John F. Kennedy and the members of the President's Cabinet, Claudio Arrau will give an all-Beethoven recital. Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON will open the program with brief introductory remarks.

Mr. Arrau, a native of Chile, is held to be one of the world's great pianists and has been acclaimed as the foremost living interpreter of Beethoven.

His program will consist of five sonatas: Opus 27, No. 1; Opus 27, No. 2 (Moonlight Sonata); Opus 111; Opus 81a (Les Adieux), and Opus 57 (Appassionata).

RECITALS FROM MARIO MIRANDA

Tuesday, October 8, 8:30 p.m., Pan American Union. Public invited.

Mario Miranda, a disciple of Claudio Arrau, has met with warm acclaim from critics in Europe and America. He was awarded first prize at the Munich International Piano Competition in 1953, and played the world premiere of Gustavo Becerra's Piano Concerto at the Second Inter-American Music Festival.

Mr. Miranda will be supported by the Claremont String Quartet at this concert, which is sponsored by the Pan American Union. His program will include works of Chilean composers Gustavo Becerra, Eduardo Maturana, and Juan Orrego Salas.

Wednesday, October 23, 8:30 p.m., Carnegie Hall, New York. Box-office admission.

Mr. Miranda will play works of Padre Antonio Soler, Beethoven, Chopin, Schönberg, and Debussy at this concert.

IMAGE OF THE NOVEL

Thursday, October 10, 8:30 p.m., Catholic University. Public invited.

This program presents a panel discussion of Latin American fiction, with particular emphasis on Chilean writers and the interaction of United States and Latin American fiction. The program is sponsored by the Catholic University of America.

The Embassy of Chile has invited Francisco Aguilera, Francisco Ayala, James Baldwin, María Luisa Bombal, Vance Bourjaily, Truman Capote, Alfred Knopf, Norman Mailer, Norman Podhoretz, Richard Rovere, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Steinbeck, William Styron, and Thornton Wilder to participate in this discussion.

Prof. Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Chilean writer who for many years has headed the Spanish and Portuguese Department of the University of California, will moderate the discussion.

IMAGE OF THE FOLKLORE

Sunday, October 13, 8:30 p.m., George Washington University, Lisner Auditorium, 21st and H Streets NW. Public invited.

A program of the traditional songs, dances, and music of Chile will be presented by a Chilean folklore group under the direction of Eugenio Dittborn, director of the Experimental Theater of the Catholic University of Chile. The program is sponsored by the George Washington University and the Institute of Contemporary Arts.

Thursday, October 17, 8:30 p.m., Pan American Union (black tie). Invitations to be distributed.

This program, sponsored by the Pan American Union, will draw from the varied repertory of Eugenio Dittborn's Chilean folklore group.

RECITAL BY ALFONSO MONTECINO

Monday, October 14, 8:30 p.m., Howard University, Crampton Auditorium. Public invited.

Under the sponsorship of Howard University, Alfonso Montecino will give a piano recital of works of Chilean composers and Beethoven's Diabelli Variations.

Montecino, a disciple of Claudio Arrau, is one of Chile's most gifted young pianists. His recital in Washington last year was described as "superb" by Paul Hume, music critic of the Washington Post.

RECITAL BY ENA BRONSTEIN

Friday, October 18, 8:30 p.m., Pan American Union. Public invited.

Miss Bronstein will give a piano recital of works of Chilean composers and of Brahms, Debussy and Liszt, under the sponsorship of the Pan American Union.

She has been studying with Claudio Arrau and Rafael de Silva for the past 4 years in New York under a grant from the Organization of American States. At 21, she is considered one of Chile's most promising pianists.

IMAGE OF THE THEATER

Monday, October 21, 8:30 p.m., Washington Theater Club, 1632 O Street NW. Public invited.

This program will consist of a roundtable discussion of the Latin American theater, with special emphasis on the Chilean theater and the mutual influence of the United States and Latin American theatrical movements. The program is sponsored by the Washington Theater Club.

The Embassy of Chile has invited Edward Albee, Harold Clurman, José Ferrer, Tyrone Guthrie, John P. Harrison, Ella Kazan, David Merrick, Allan Pryce-Jones, José Quintero, Howard Taubman, Gore Vidal, Anthony West, and Tennessee Williams to take part in this discussion. Luis A. Heiremans,

well-known Chilean dramatist, will act as moderator.

RECITAL BY EDGAR FISCHER

Monday, October 21, 8:30 p.m., Pan American Union. Public invited.

Edgar Fischer has studied under Leonard Rose, first cellist of the New York Philharmonic, for the past 2 years and this season is joining the National Symphony Orchestra. He is one of the best exponents of Chile's new generation of talented young musicians.

IMAGE OF THE MUSIC

Thursday, October 24, 8:30 p.m., American University, Glover Auditorium. Public invited.

This roundtable discussion of contemporary Latin American music in general, and Chilean music in particular, is sponsored by the Music Department of American University. It will also deal with the influence exerted on one another by the music of the United States and of Latin America.

The Embassy of Chile has extended invitations to participate in this discussion to Jeanne Behrend, pianist and composer; Vannette Lawler, executive secretary, National Conference of Music Educators; Robert Whitney, music director of the Louisville Philharmonic Orchestra; David van Vactor, composer and conductor of the Knoxville Symphony Orchestra; Lloyd Uitan, chairman of the Music Department of American University, and Guillermo Espinosa, Colombian conductor and director of the Music Division of the Pan American Union.

Juan Orrego Salas, noted Chilean composer, critic and teacher, presently professor of Latin American music at Indiana University, will act as moderator.

ART EXHIBIT

November 2-23 inclusive, Howard University Gallery. Public invited.

Some 50 representative examples of contemporary Chilean painting, selected from collections of the New York Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Santiago, will be exhibited under the joint sponsorship of Howard University and the Inter-American Committee.

The exhibit was prepared by Nemesio Antúnez, director of the Museum of Contemporary Art and a well-known painter in his own right. It will be formally opened by Dr. Rafael Squirru, director of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Organization of American States.

FACING UP TO THE U.N.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, today is United Nations Day—the day 18 years ago when 29 nations, by their ratification, brought the U.N. Charter into effect. Since then, we have had 18 years to observe the U.N. in action, years in which we should have been able to learn something about the organization and our participation in it. It is high time that we recognize the U.N. for what it actually is, not what we think it should be, or what extremists of both hues tell us it is.

Mr. President, I am convinced that the U.N. is an essential instrument for the conduct of our foreign policy. In the modern world, with ever increasing interdependence, our foreign policy demands a three-dimensional approach. We have long accepted the necessity of bilateral diplomacy, of nation-to-nation contacts. Somewhat later, we became convinced of the value of regional organizations for the common welfare and defense. Still more recently, we endorsed the desirability of a multina-

tional arrangement. Each approach has its own special kind of utility. Today I would like to recount some of our recent accomplishments in the multilateral sphere through the U.N.

Ringling still in our ears is the clamor generated by the Cuban crisis. As you know, at one time or another, we brought bilateral, regional and multilateral pressures to bear to resolve this problem. No one denies that, in the longrun, our willingness to use force was the most compelling argument in obtaining the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba. However, it is equally true that the regional solidarity in the Organization of American States and the international attention focused on Soviet activities in Cuba through the United Nations, contributed to this objective.

In the United Nations, we were able to present our evidence directly to the representatives of 109 nations, a job which otherwise we should have had to do in 109 separate capitals. We thus focused immediate world attention on the crisis and where the responsibility for it lay. Moreover, we were able, through the U.N. Secretary General, to work out some arrangement for cooling off the crisis and avoiding an armed clash. The Soviet Union found itself isolated and alone in the face of universal condemnation.

Lester Pearson put it well:

When you have a good case with strength to back it, stand firm: without provocation or panic. When action in defense of that case has to be taken quickly and by yourself, bring that action before the United Nations at once—as the United States did on this occasion.

The United Nations once again became the indispensable agency through which the parties could find a way out of a crisis without war. I know the United Nations couldn't force a solution on a great power which doesn't want it, but you can't exaggerate its importance as a means for finding and supervising a solution.

That, I think, just about sums it up.

A second example can be seen in the Congo. The Communists were seeking a foothold in central Africa, and this foothold has been denied to them, largely through United Nations intervention. The alternative would have been a direct confrontation between United States and Soviet power—the use of American troops. In this case, there was no regional organization that we could call upon, no regional resources equal to the task.

Now for 3 years, the United Nations has protected the Congo from internal chaos, reconquest, the Communist subversion. Both cold war and hot war were averted. The country is well on its way to viable, non-Communist independence. The civilian economy is being helped on its feet so that the anarchic conditions which led to and abetted the original Congo crisis are ended.

Mr. President, I have been talking about peacekeeping, the U.N. activity which comes most frequently to public attention. But frequently obscured by the publicity on military operations is the fact that 17 out of 20 United Nations employees are working on peaceful pursuits—the long, tedious tasks of better-

ing life on this planet. Wars and threats to the peace are caused less by frictions than by frustrations—frustrations from hunger, pestilence, poverty, ignorance, and denials of human rights. More than three-fourths of every U.N. dollar goes to support the international programs arrayed against the age-old scourges of mankind. Thus, the United Nations is working constantly to alleviate the frustrations which make for unrest and, eventually, for dangerous breaches of the peace.

Last month I pointed out five areas in which attention can be focused on East-West problems through the U.N.

First. The area of financial support for the United Nations and its peace-keeping functions.

Second. The field of outer space.

Third. The field of lunar exploration.

Fourth. The field of educational, cultural, scientific, and economic exchange.

Fifth. The field of East-West trade.

Mr. President, the U.N. has proven to be an effective instrument for achieving U.S. foreign policy objectives, as well as for promoting international harmony. But since the United Nations is a political body, we should not be surprised that delegates there sometimes say things that we do not and cannot accept, that they often speak with one eye on the international scene and the other on their constituents at home. And we should not be surprised if things do not go well for us 100 percent of the time.

The fact is that our batting average at the United Nations is close to .900, laudable in any league. And the fact is that no major Soviet proposal opposed by us has ever been approved by the United Nations. This is a record of which we can be proud and one which stands as telling testimony of the value of the United Nations as a means of furthering our foreign policy objectives.

Mr. President, the United Nations is here to stay. It has a record of proven performance that merits our wholehearted support.

Our distinguished ambassador to the U.N., Mr. Adali Stevenson, has reviewed the record of the U.N. with his customary eloquence:

Now our hopes are firmer and more confident. When we look back it is to 18 years of tumult and danger in the world, sobered and moderated in the United Nations. We know now from experience that we are building an effective organization which can deal with crisis—because it has done so time and again.

No one claims we have yet developed a perfect instrument, but few urge us to stop trying. We all profoundly regret that every disturbance to the peace has not been controlled without loss of life, yet we must give thanks that many more lives have been saved because the United Nations has kept the disturbances within limits in this time of trouble, tension, and revolution all over the world.

President Kennedy asks, "Is not peace, in the last analysis, a matter of human rights?" The United Nations answers yes, but its huge economic and social effort to safeguard the dignity and improve the welfare of individuals. Let us pray for the day when the use of force will be so unthinkable that the protection of liberty and the eradication of hunger and disease will absorb all the efforts of the United Nations.

PROGRESS AT FORT PECK INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the September 1963 issue of Eyapi Oaye, the monthly newsletter of the Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board, sums up the progress being made on that Montana reservation through various federally financed programs such as area redevelopment, accelerated public works, public housing and Department of Interior resource development. The following summary appears in the "Superintendent's Comments":

There is a great deal of activity going on at the Fort Peck Agency now and in a few months there will be even more.

Roads: The Poplar west road has been graded into a fine road. A new road has been made to the Wiota pump and canal which leads from the Missouri River.

Irrigation: New pump plant and canals at the west end of the reservation are under construction. The work will continue for quite a while.

Employees' quarters: Four new houses are being constructed. Two of these are already occupied.

Accelerated public works: Very soon an APW program will be in operation. Picnic and camping improvements and fire lane construction will be completed in Poplar, Frazer, and Wolf Point communities.

Jail and court chambers: The new jail will be constructed, beginning this winter, just east of the community hospital.

Tribal administration building and community center: The new administration building will be located just southeast of the present tribal building.

Public housing: All of you have watched this project grow. Completion is expected next spring.

Each of these developments make our community a better place in which to live. The total cost will be close to \$1.5 million. The tribes are contributing about \$90,000 of this amount. Most importantly, over 175 people who had no job a year ago will be working.

I know there are many local people who deserve credit for the development underway in this northeastern Montana community. They include Superintendent Stanley D. Lyman and his staff, the Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board, led by President William Youpee and the Roosevelt County Planning and Improvement Council.

As I pointed out previously on the floor of the Senate, these local leaders view the Federal Government as a partner, whose programs should be used selectively and fitted to local needs, rather than as a villain to be denounced.

Montana has its share of those who denounce the accelerated public works program, public housing and resource development which are providing a better life and 175 new jobs for the people of the Fort Peck Reservation area. But, I am proud to say, we also have these local leaders who make the programs work and make them meaningful. I salute them.

UNITED NATIONS DAY

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, today is the 18th anniversary of the United Nations. There were some who, discouraged by the failure of the League of Nations, thought the United Nations would never last so long. There

were others who, caught up in the post-war enthusiasm for the creation of international institutions, conceived of the United Nations as the panacea for all of man's ills. They expected the international organization to become a world government overnight; they perhaps believed it would be able to resolve all disputes, including conflicts between the great powers.

The United Nations has neither been a failure nor has it been a cure-all. In important instances of aggression it has failed to act: Hungary and Goa need only be mentioned. But in other circumstances it has met the challenge and undertaken important mediating and peacekeeping operations: Palestine, Suez, the Congo. It has survived internal crises: Soviet use of the veto and demand for a troika Secretary General; the problem of financing expensive peacekeeping operations; the upsurge in its membership from 51 to 111.

Furthermore, the United Nations has been extensively utilized by its members during the first 18 years of its existence. The requests for technical assistance from the organization have been constantly increasing. By the end of March 1963 the special fund alone, which did not even begin operations until 1959, had received 629 requests for aid. The United Nations has been engaged in a number of colonial issues, and recently the African countries in particular have asked the United Nations with increasing frequency to act on colonial questions. The U.N. has dispatched a total of nine peacekeeping operations, with the consent of the governments concerned, to act as a neutral force in areas where the peace was threatened. The Secretary General has often been asked to mediate in disputes or establish a commission to do so.

The accomplishments of the United Nations in the last year alone are worthy of record. In early 1963 the gradual withdrawal of U.N. troops from the Congo began: The U.N. mission of securing the reintegration of the country had been accomplished. In May Indonesia took over control of west Irian from the United Nations; the United Nations itself, as a result of agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia reached through U.N. mediation, had undertaken the administration of west Irian for a 6-month period. In June a special session of the General Assembly agreed on the basic principles for financing the United Nations and on a scale of assessments for financing the peacekeeping operations through the last 6 months of 1963, thus ending the acute financial crisis of the organization. Members agreed by an overwhelming majority that it was the collective responsibility of the U.N. membership to finance all activities undertaken by the world organization. More recently, a plebiscite was held under U.N. supervision to determine whether the people of Sarawak and North Borneo wished to join the Malaysia Federation.

At the current assembly session already a resolution has been adopted by acclamation banning nuclear weapons in outer space, another expression of con-

sensus by the nations of the world that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes alone. The Congo operation has been authorized to continue, on a reduced basis, for another 6 months until the Congolese security forces are sufficiently built up.

And so the assembly session will continue.

The United Nations may not be a cure-all, but it has survived and is still thriving after 18 years of trials. The fact that members have placed over 80 items before its 18th session indicates that interest in its continuation as a dynamic force on the world scene is not waning.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is no further morning business, morning business is closed.

DIXIE PROJECT, UTAH

The VICE PRESIDENT. The unfinished business will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 26) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Dixie project, Utah, and for other purposes.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS—RECESS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, at 2 o'clock a ceremony is scheduled. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair shortly before 2 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m., took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

At 1 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m. the Senate reassembled when called to order by Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., October 24, 1963.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,

President pro tempore.

Mr. SPARKMAN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the legislative business of the Senate will be suspended, pursuant to Senate Resolution 216, which the clerk will state.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 216) reading as follows:

Resolved, That on Thursday, October 24, 1963, at 2 o'clock postmeridian, the legislative business of the Senate be suspended to permit the delivery of memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, with the passing of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, the people lost a champion and a true friend.

Perhaps it would appear to some trite to say that ESTES KEFAUVER was a man of the people. But he was, and he never forgot it.

Moreover, with the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, his family lost a loving husband, father, brother, and relative; and his friends lost one who possessed a gentleness of spirit and personality found all too seldom.

ESTES KEFAUVER was tolerant, understanding, generous, always willing to consider the other man's point of view, and inclined many times to yield his own point of view to that of others, if it had strong merit.

Working relations between Senator KEFAUVER and me were of the best. The personal equation between us was a pleasant one, and particularly grew warm and pleasant during the last years we served together when we had so many common problems which required solution. So when I say he was gentle, tolerant, and considerate, I speak from an abundance of experience.

In his public life, he was a true champion of the public interest. This came first with him. ESTES KEFAUVER was a U.S. Senator in the fullest meaning of that term. His colleagues would have great difficulty recalling any instance when he took a narrow, sectional point of view. True, he loyally represented the State of Tennessee and its people; but he represented, too, his Nation and his fellow Americans.

Mr. President, I think that along with Jackson, Hull, Polk, and Johnson, Estes Kefauver will be remembered generously in history as one of Tennessee's great.

Possessed of indomitable spirit, unflinching courage, and energy that upon many occasions seemed to me beyond human capacity, he was an implacable foe of the crooks, the cheats, and the frauds, and an inveterate enemy of the specially privileged and of those who sought to further their own will and interest to the detriment of the public good.

The family of the late Senator KEFAUVER are in the gallery. To each of

them, I extend now the warmest of sympathy, the deepest of understanding, and a sharing of their great loss. But to each of them, also, I extend congratulations for ESTES KEFAUVER.

Mr. President, I desire to read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND
INSULAR AFFAIRS,
October 21, 1963.

HON. ALBERT GORE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ALBERT: In accordance with our conversation regarding this Thursday, October 24, the day set aside by the Senate for Senator KEFAUVER's eulogy, I am enclosing my remarks which you have so graciously consented to read into the RECORD for me.

I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to Senator MANSFIELD, explaining my absence at this solemn time, and asking that he read it into the RECORD.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

HERBERT S. WALTERS.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter to the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
AND FORESTRY,
October 21, 1963.

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD,
The Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: On Thursday, October 24, the Senate will voice its sorrow over the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER and will pay fitting tribute to his memory.

It is distressing for me to have to report to you that I will be unable to be present on this occasion. Unfortunately, several months prior to the notice I received only last Friday, setting the date of Senator KEFAUVER's eulogy, I had made some important engagements in Tennessee and it was impossible for me to make any changes at this late date.

I have asked my colleague, Senator ALBERT GORE, to read into the RECORD what I would have said personally if I could have been with you. It would be most gracious of you, as majority leader, to also read this letter into the RECORD, clarifying my absence at this solemn time.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

HERBERT S. WALTERS.

TRIBUTE BY SENATOR WALTERS

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, at this time I should like to read the remarks of my distinguished junior colleague [Mr. WALTERS], who at this time is unavoidably absent:

REMARKS OF SENATOR WALTERS AT THE U.S. SENATE EULOGY SERVICES FOR SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Tennessee, the Nation, and the world mourn the passing of a great man.

The Volunteer State has always contributed its share of leaders for the effective representation of our State and our country. Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk, three of Tennessee's sons, rose to the highest office in the land and history will echo their names along with those of Cordell Hull, John Sevier, and Sam Houston.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a leader of that stature. It is from the unique position as his successor in this great deliberate body that I can speak with authority as to the magni-

tude of his work. His rugged individualism and singleness of purpose may have aroused the ire of many, but there is no one who can question the dedication to service of mankind that motivated ESTES KEFAUVER's life.

I, as some of you, had my differences with him, but never once did his conduct ever command anything but my highest respect. He was honest and sincere in his unshakable belief that the things he fought for were for the ultimate good of all and for this he must be admired.

Those of us who epitomize his work today can draw much from another characteristic of ESTES KEFAUVER; his word was his bond. During the years I served as a member of the Democratic National Committee I had contact with people from every part of the country and it was agreed by all that knew him or had any dealings with him that he was a person who would never go back on his word.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a man to whom honesty and trust were the watchwords of his career.

It is indeed fitting for us to pay homage and tribute to one who carried out the oath of office to which he so nobly subscribed, and it can be said that beyond a doubt ESTES KEFAUVER kept his word to all to the end.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the man in the coonskin cap is gone. Just 36 hours after his last speech on this floor, mortality turned to immortality and his fascinating career came to an end. It is a stark reminder of the unpredictability of life and how uncertain this mortal journey can be.

For more than 16 years, I served with ESTES KEFAUVER in the House and Senate. The coonskin cap was not a political ornament in his life. Rather it was a fitting symbol of the frontiersman, exploring new ground, venturing into uncharted hills and valleys of a complicated economic domain.

What shall I say of a man, a friend, a colleague, a Senator with whom I disagreed so often, whose purposes I sought to frustrate, if possible, with whom I fought fiercely over differences in viewpoint both in committee and on the Senate floor year in and year out? What does one say about such an adversary?

He was a gentleman. That says much. Differ as we did, it was in a friendly spirit. Never have I seen him angry. Our exchanges could be sharp and to the point. In lesser men, they might have excited a deep and continuing anger. But never in him. He exemplified as did no other person in my acquaintance, that old biblical admonition, to let not the sun set on one's anger.

His fixity of purpose marked him as one with a definite and precise mission in life. He was indeed a crusader. Sharp criticism, sarcasm, efforts to impeach his position on public matters never diverted him from his convictions and his firm purposes. His patience always remained intact. Rail at him as one might, dismember his arguments if one could, discredit his purposes if that were possible, and scold him if it seemed to accomplish a purpose, his patience was always intact, his persistence was unyielding, and his conviction unshaken.

His sense of mission was a many-splendored thing. Outstanding was his zeal for little people, for little business, for a true competitive system under which young and old, rich and poor, might have an equal chance. His investigations in the antitrust and monopoly field were a testimony to an iron determination that our competitive system must be made to work justly and equitably. Whether these investigations took place in the field of milk or bread, motor cars or steel, insurance or electrical equipment, the objective was always the same; namely, to lift the hand of monopoly from little people that they too might survive and prosper. Our differences and disagreements were more often over method than objective, but having charted a course, he stood by it to the very end.

His courage was limitless. He knew even as I knew that there were many who disagreed with his philosophy of government and with his methods. In his long and varied political career there must have been many pressures upon him. As an elected official there must have been times when he had to equate these pressures in terms of a continuing career in the Senate. Regardless of what they were, he never qualified, he never faltered, he never compromised where principle and conviction were involved.

Mr. President, mankind does not produce many Kefauvers, men who are willing to face up to abuse and sharp criticism for a cause, men who are willing, if need be, to endure the rupture of friendships for a cause, men who even though in physical pain or moral anguish will not relent in the pursuit of truth and right as they understand it, men who can brush aside frustration and start over again where a compelling goal beckons them on, men who move slowly with poise and purpose but never walk backward, men who in the bright fanfare of a political career never forget their humble beginnings, and men who are resolute to the end.

But such a man was ESTES KEFAUVER, and as I watched all that was mortal committed to earth on that farm on the outskirts of the little town of Madisonville, Tenn., where he was born, I thought of the stately sturdy oaks amid which the service was held. He was truly one of mankind's sturdy oaks until a divine hand snatched him away. I shall always salute his memory as a foeman to be respected; admired and loved as a friend.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it was my good fortune to come to know ESTES KEFAUVER two decades ago, when we served together in the House of Representatives. I have followed his career of dedicated public service with admiration and respect ever since. He was an honest, straightforward man whose gentle nature belied the sharp mind and keen insight God gave him. His respect for the institutions of our democracy was overshadowed only by his devotion to its people. As a campaigner he had no peer. He loved the people and they

loved him. His campaigns for national office, which took him across the country many times, left a deep and lasting impression on the millions who saw him and felt his famous handshake. His passing took from the Senate a champion of the people who have no lobby but the ballot box.

The zeal which marked his guardianship of the public interest won him national fame as a foe of crime, monopoly, and greed. While his reputation as a legislator sprang from investigations which often captured the headlines, many quiet acts of courage marked his service in this body. In the hysteria of the McCarthy era his was a calm voice which rose above the tempest. When, in that same emotional climate, an effort was made to restrict the treaty-making powers of the President, Senator KEFAUVER was a leader in opposition to it. We were companions in many of these struggles in those dark days and I drew strength from him.

His service as chairman of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation is a testimonial to his concern for the public welfare. Enactment of the drug safety bill last year was due in large measure to the fact that Senator KEFAUVER and his staff, as the New Republic put it, "knew more about the drug industry than the industry knew about itself." This measure is typical of the progressive legislation ESTES KEFAUVER sponsored. Gentleness and good humor marked his demeanor but, as many a witness before him discovered, his placid exterior concealed an astute and probing intellect.

Although he was not a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he had a keen interest in foreign affairs. As Senators know, he was always especially concerned about the position of the United States in the Atlantic community. Shortly after his election to the Senate some 15 years ago, he stressed the need for increased cooperation among the countries of the North Atlantic. In 1949, when the NATO treaty was before the Senate for ratification, he described it as an, "interim measure, a measure that will gain the time needed to explore in peace a far more promising prospect—the possibility of eventually uniting the democracies of the North Atlantic by our own basic Federal principles into a great Atlantic Union of the free." While many difficult obstacles must be surmounted before his dream is realized, events of recent years prove the wisdom of his objective. He repeatedly sponsored the Atlantic Union resolution to establish a convention of representative citizens from NATO countries to explore avenues through which greater political and economic unity might be achieved. Its adoption in 1960 was the culmination of his untiring efforts. Senator KEFAUVER, on six occasions, was a delegate to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, and in 1961 he served as Chairman of the U.S. delegation. As a member of the political committees of these conferences he made invaluable contributions and it was largely due to his efforts that the Conference of NATO Nations was held in Paris last year. No

man worked as hard in promoting the concept of Atlantic unity. A long time associate and friend, Edward J. Meeman, of the Memphis Press-Scimitar paid this tribute to him:

I will wage that he will have a great place in history as the statesman, who, more than any other, pioneered in behalf of the federation of the free.

The storms that threaten the Atlantic Alliance today reflect the enormity of the task which ESTES KEFAUVER charted. It is to be hoped that the wisdom of his counsel will finally prevail.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a great American in the best tradition of public spirited Tennesseans—Jackson, Polk and Johnson, Crockett, and Hull. His name will rank with theirs in the history of his State. His populist spirit and philosophy were drawn from the springs of independence and courage that have watered American history. A Democrat in every sense of the word, his career marked by a steadfast faith in the people of America—a faith which through their reciprocation brought him close to the highest office in the land.

I miss him. The Senate misses him. And, the people of America miss him. The extent of the Nation's loss was, perhaps, best expressed by the editorial writer of the Arkansas Gazette who began his tribute simply, "ESTES KEFAUVER was one of the really good ones."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President—Mr. GORE. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGOVERN in the chair). The Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] is recognized.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join all other Senators in paying tribute to our departed friend.

I knew and was closely associated with ESTES KEFAUVER for almost a quarter of a century. I was first elected to Congress in 1936, and about 2 years later ESTES was elected. Our districts adjoined. Our towns were about 100 miles apart. We were neighbors in more ways than one. I remember that back in the days when we were getting ready for World War II, when we were interested in having war plants located in our districts, ESTES and I often worked together to try to locate a plant in either his district or my district or on the line somewhere, that would be helpful.

I worked with him closely in the House of Representatives. I came to the Senate in November of 1946, and 2 years later so did ESTES; and again we were closely associated. For several years we sat side by side in the Chamber.

I had the opportunity to go on trips with ESTES in connection with national defense and other programs in which our Government was interested, and I witnessed his tireless, diligent, able work in that connection.

Furthermore, we were neighbors in the true sense of the word, in the District of Columbia. We lived only one or two blocks apart; at one time we lived only three houses apart. We attended the same church. It was always a pleasure and delight to see the Kefauvers come to church and to Sunday school. It was not

a matter of sending the children to Sunday school. It was not a matter of one member of the family coming to church, but they attended as a family.

Many times have I seen him playing with his children. He was a family man. He loved his family and gave them a great deal of attention.

I campaigned with ESTES. I echo the words expressed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] that, "as a campaigner he had no peer."

I recall that early one morning during the 1956 campaign, when he was a candidate for Vice President, a long-distance telephone call from Kentucky woke me up to say that ESTES was to campaign throughout that day but that he was ill with a bad throat. I was asked if I could come down there and pinch-hit for ESTES. I said that I could not get there. I was then told that a schedule had already been arranged, so I went down to Kentucky and spent the day, and far into the night, trying to pinch-hit for ESTES. However, I felt my total inadequacy in matching this great man who had become a tradition, "the man with the coonskin cap," who, on the campaign trail, could not be equaled.

I knew him in his work in the Senate. I was closely associated with him. He was a member of the Small Business Committee when he was in the House of Representatives, and I was also a member of the same committee, and he and I often discussed small-business matters. I was associated with him in connection with various resolutions which he presented to the House of Representatives, and also to the Senate—one of which was the proposed amendment to the Constitution with reference to the electoral college. The Senate at one time passed that joint resolution. I am not sure whether it was after he entered the Senate. Perhaps it was before—it was originally known as the Lodge-Gossett joint resolution, but when those two Members left and when Senator KEFAUVER was in the Senate and Senator Lodge was gone, Senator KEFAUVER became the principal sponsor, and the Senate passed it by an overwhelming vote.

I was glad to hear the Senator from Arkansas mention his interest in building a strong western alliance, an Atlantic community, which has been accomplished as a result, in part, of some of the work he did. It is still in an evolutionary process. The NATO Parliamentarians Conference, which is to meet a week from now in Paris, has on its agenda further consideration of solidifying the underpinnings of NATO and the Western European nations.

I could name many matters in which he was interested. He was a dedicated public servant. He was able and courageous; but he had another characteristic which I felt attached to him more strongly than to any other Member of the Senate—he was tenacious. When he got hold of something he believed in, he could not be shaken loose.

In short, ESTES KEFAUVER was an able legislator, a courageous legislator, a good citizen, a good man. We shall long miss him in this body.

A while ago the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] touched on a point I

should like to emphasize, when he said that in a way congratulations were in order. I often think that the grief we mortals suffer when someone close to us passes away should be moderated by gratitude for what their loved one did while he was living here with us. Today the country can be thankful that ESTES KEFAUVER lived and that he served so well throughout the years.

I join in extending sympathy to Nancy, his lovely widow, to the children, to his sisters, and to other members of his family. America has lost a great and fine citizen.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield now to the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McINTYRE].

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I find it most difficult to express my feelings on this day dedicated to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER. Since I am a comparative newcomer in this distinguished body, I shall speak not only of my association with ESTES, Senator to Senator, but also of our friendship. For I believe that in the simplicity, honesty, and gentleness of this man we find the roots of his greatness as a Senator.

I would like to quote one of his favorite prayers, by which he tried to live and which I feel reveals his true and deeper nature.

Teach me, my Lord, to be sweet and gentle in all the events of life, in disappointments, in the thoughtlessness of others, in the insincerity of those I trusted, in the unfaithfulness of those on whom I relied.

Let me put myself aside, to think of the happiness of others, to hide my little pains and heartaches, so that I may be the only one to suffer from them. Teach me to profit by the suffering that comes across my path.

Let me so use it that it may mellow me, not harden nor embitter me, that it may make me patient, not irritable, that it may make me broad in my forgiveness, not narrow, haughty and over-bearing.

May no one be less good for having come within my influence. No one less pure, less true, less kind, less noble for having been a fellow traveler in our journey toward Eternal Life.

As I go my rounds from one distraction to another, let me whisper from time to time a word of love to Thee. May my life be lived in the supernatural, full of power for good, and strong in its purpose of sanctity.

It can truly be said that in the death of ESTES KEFAUVER the Nation lost a friend. However, when the news of his passing first reached me, my immediate feeling was one of a deep and irrevocable personal loss. For the instant I could think only—and perhaps selfishly—that my friend and political mentor was gone. This great and good man who had counseled me through most of my political life—no longer could I turn to him for help and advice.

I first shook the hand that was to shake countless thousands of other hands on a crisp New Hampshire morning in January of 1952. The famous crime-fighter was in New Hampshire on a quest—for the Presidency of the United States. And he was asking for my help. Somehow, it should have seemed incongruous—this tall Tennessean standing in the snow in New Hampshire, asking a country lawyer to help him become President of the United States. As I think back on it now, it was the most

natural thing in the world, for this man exuded a warmth and sincerity that forged an immediate bond of friendship between us.

Mrs. McIntyre and I worked hard for ESTES in the campaigns of 1952 and 1956, and never shall we expect to find again a person who was so appreciative of assistance, so understanding of mistakes, or so manfully able to accept defeat.

By what name shall we remember ESTES KEFAUVER? Crusader? Politician? Statesman? Lawmaker? Well, he was all of these things. Also it was given to him, as it is given to few, the ability to lead and at the same time remain one with the people.

There were those who disagreed with ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. There were those who feared ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. There were those who felt the wrath of ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. And there were those who crushed the hopes of ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people.

In all of the thousands of words printed in newspapers across America in tribute to Senator KEFAUVER, one line in an editorial in the Kansas City Star sticks in my mind. It said simply: "The voters trusted him."

For during his entire political life he fought to protect the people against the corrupters, the empire builders, and the gangsters. He stood alone more than once, in this very Chamber, to espouse unpopular causes and issues in which he believed. For if ESTES KEFAUVER had a fault, it was that he stubbornly persisted in what he felt was right, whatever the odds. To these causes he gave all of his energies and his time, caring not what physical toll they took on him.

And, so, Mr. President, if the countless thousands of people across this Nation who loved ESTES KEFAUVER as I did and miss him as I do were here with us today, I think they might agree that these lines from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar best sum up our feelings:

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world "Here was a man!"

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND].

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in 1954, upon the death of the late Senator from North Carolina, Hon. Clyde Hoey, I had the honor to have ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, become my seatmate. We were seatmates for several years after that date.

Senator KEFAUVER had every right to feel unkindly toward me if he had wished to do so, because he knew I had, in supporting another, opposed him rather vigorously for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1952. I found at once not a trace of vindictiveness in him, never a word or mention of that earlier disagreement, never a word of anything but constructive assistance in the years during which we worked together on a considerable number of issues which came before the Senate.

I enjoyed and appreciated the opportunity to have those years of close asso-

ciation with a man whom I came to admire more and more with each passing month and every passing year.

There are many things I could say, but I shall refer to only one issue, an issue with respect to which we happened to find common ground, and as to which I am more indebted to him than to any other person. The Senate also is indebted to him. It was his passionate belief that all citizens of the United States should have the right to vote, and that that right was a fundamental matter in a government such as ours—the right of active participation in governing this great Nation.

For a long time he had believed that a Federal statute would be adequate to wipe out the poll tax. We talked about it. I told him, whether that were true or not, I did not believe that course was practical, I did not think it could or should be done that way. Furthermore, I thought such a solution could be always subjected to delay, even if it were followed; whereas it seemed to me that the constitutional amendment approach was the desirable, and certainly the practical one, to follow.

After a while he came to the conclusion either that the other approach was impractical or that the constitutional amendment approach was the better. I do not know what was his reason. But he threw himself into the effort for the repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections by means of a constitutional amendment with a degree of devotion and self-abnegation that I have rarely seen.

I know that it was not wholly easy for him to take that position, both in the great committee in which he was serving at the time and as a Senator from a State where there was no unanimity on that subject.

On three different occasions, serving as chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, of the Committee on the Judiciary, he subjected the proposed amendment to careful, exhaustive hearings. When it proved impossible to bring the matter to the Senate otherwise, he was generous enough to help me to attempt to add it to an amendment in which he was deeply interested, and which was then pending on the floor of the Senate. As the RECORD will show, it was placed on that amendment as a second or additional amendment. At that time it was not acceptable to the other body.

In a later year he joined actively and effectively in another effort to bring the matter before the Senate. Without laboring the matter, the Senate approved the proposal by a very large vote, as did the House, and it went to the States for ratification.

The way in which ESTES KEFAUVER devoted himself to the effort to have his State act favorably upon the amendment was but a continuation of the effort that he had shown in the Senate.

A few moments ago another Senator spoke of Senator KEFAUVER's persistence, of his tenacity of purpose. He certainly showed it in this poll tax effort. I shall never forget the great pleasure of see-

ing the way he looked one morning when he announced from the floor of the Senate that his State had been the first State of all the Southern States to ratify the proposed constitutional amendment.

That success, I believe, and will always believe, was largely due to his persistence, his tenacity, and his continued effort, in which he was joined by his distinguished colleague, now the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], and also by his distinguished Governor.

I mention this because I believe it to be important for the RECORD to clearly show that while he had plenty of time for other interests, in connection with the Atlantic community, in connection with antimonopoly matters, and in connection with various other issues—because he was a Senator of broad interests and of many activities—one of the activities to which he was most devoted and to which he gave much time and effort and energy was the matter of assuring to his fellow citizens the right to cast their ballots in elections for President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives without the requirement of paying any tax.

I found ESTES KEFAUVER a most gentle man, a most generous man, and yet a most firm and fearless man.

Sometimes we do not think of gentleness, graciousness, charm, and generosity, such as his, as residing in the same individual, who is also a man of unyielding firmness and complete fearlessness. However, these qualities were all present in ESTES KEFAUVER. Just as the Senator from Illinois, the minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN], journeyed down to Knoxville and then to Madisonville at the time of the interment of ESTES KEFAUVER, I was one of those who made that sad journey. I will never forget the gracious and lovely manner of Nancy Kefauver and their children on that occasion—in spite of their deep sorrow. They went down and back on the same plane with the Senate group which had been assigned to attend.

Likewise, I could never forget the faces of those thousands of his fellow citizens who were there at Madisonville, and later at the old family plantation, at the family cemetery, to see laid away the man in whom they had implicit trust, the man whom they felt represented them truly and stood for the things in life that they respected most and desired so greatly.

It was a most impressive occasion. It could not have failed to send every Senator and every other person who had the opportunity to be present back to his duties with inspiration, and the belief that devotion to duty such as ESTES KEFAUVER showed, and such as he lived, makes an impression upon one's fellow citizens, and leaves a place in their hearts which is terribly hard to fill. That kind of expression was present in the faces of the many people who were there—thousands of low estate and of high estate—showing their personal grief because of the passing of one whom they loved and trusted.

Mrs. Holland and I join in expressing our grief and sympathy to Mrs. Kefau-

ver and the children. We shall long miss ESTES KEFAUVER in the Senate.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was not my privilege to serve with our late colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, on any of the committees on which he served in the Senate. Yet I felt very close to him almost from the time I came to the House of Representatives and found him there until the time of his death while he served in the Senate.

Throughout that time my regard for his great ability, and for his sincere pursuit of the public interest as he saw it, was profound. He came to New Jersey, as he came to many other States, in pursuit of the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The impression he made upon our New Jersey people was as deep and lasting as it was all over the country; that is to say, very lasting and very deep.

The very characteristics that endeared him to us and that awoke our admiration and respect, and that gave us confidence not only in him but also in the great country that he loved so profoundly, somehow communicated themselves to all the people with whom he came into contact in New Jersey and elsewhere.

That his pursuit was not successful in no way diminished the zeal for his service to our country, or his attention to his duties in the Senate.

Among other things, he was a "loner." If there is such a thing as an "establishment" in the Senate, I suppose he was perhaps the most unlikely one to be included in such a group.

Perhaps the Senate is unique in that it includes a number of "loners."

Perhaps one of its chief functions—but not its only function—is to make a place for persons of that kind in our life as a country and in modern society. ESTES KEFAUVER fulfilled both functions—that of a Senator in the true sense, in the fulfillment of all the responsibilities that the office entails, and, in addition, the representative of something unique in American life, a very great symbol of the importance of the individual. In all these ways we shall remember him as long as our memory lasts, and shall mourn his passing.

Mrs. Case joins with me in extending our most tender sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the children.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL].

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, when ESTES KEFAUVER departed the company of living men, our hearts were sad, for we knew that we had lost a friend and a valiant fighter. His large outstretched hand reached across America and grasped the hand of the storekeeper, the housewife, the small businessman, and the farmer. Millions of Americans in all parts of this country and in all walks of life remember the tall Tennessean who, in the spring of 1952, warmly shook their hands and drawled, "I'm ESTES KEFAUVER and I'm running for President. You'll help me, won't you?"

His kind, folksy manner endeared him to them, and his determined fight against the forces that would take advantage of those who may not have so much in worldly goods and in opportunity earned for him their lasting gratitude.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a rugged Tennessee mountaineer of hearty pioneer stock. He was born in the land of Andrew Jackson, endowed with his spirit and fight, with his courage and determination. ESTES KEFAUVER's every act would have indicated that he was ever mindful of this rich and fearless heritage. It was only fitting that the coonskin cap should become his symbol. As a star football player for the University of Tennessee, his physical prowess and his endurance won for him the nickname, "Old Ironsides." His physical strength was matched by the strength of his character and convictions. ESTES KEFAUVER forthrightly stated his position and would not retreat from a fight in defense of the principles in which he believed. "The glory of man," said Solomon, "is strength." And ESTES KEFAUVER was strong. The eloquent words of Senator John W. Daniel, in tribute to Thomas Jefferson, so fittingly describe the strength of ESTES KEFAUVER:

He was strong and all powerful in courage; yes, in civic courage, the rarest of all kinds of bravery. All nations are brave in their own way. Massive battalions, thousands strong, will march to death midst flashing bayonets and screaming shells—not a man dropped out of his place. But the courage that faces the sneer of fashion, the scorn of power, the scowl of altered friendship "the proud man's contumely and the insolence of office"—this is the courage that belongs alone to souls "touched to fine issues" * * * the superb, quiet, patient, daring courage that looks public opinion in the eye and dares confront it and affront it, and not flinch from the encounter.

"KEFAUVER" became a household word as he relentlessly sought out the ganglords of organized crime and vice and alerted all America to the scope of their operations. He was one of the first public figures to use the medium of television to give the American people an insight into the functioning of the committees of Congress and to inform them about a grave national problem. His independence and straightforwardness at times cost him political support and yet he did not compromise a principle for personal gain. He was truly the practicing idealist. ESTES KEFAUVER first won his seat in this body by fighting an uphill battle against what seemed to be insurmountable odds, and as a Member of this body, he never stopped fighting regardless of the obstacles. He was ever alert to safeguard the spirit of our free enterprise system and quick to do battle against those who would abuse it and through monopolistic practices impose unfair burdens upon the American people.

ESTES KEFAUVER fought for his people and he nobly strived for peace and justice for the whole world. He will have a great place in history as the statesman who pioneered in behalf of the federation of the free. He was chief

sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution, and he remained a prime and steadfast advocate of Atlantic unification. In our fights against the forces of reaction who would destroy the Tennessee Valley Authority, those of us who realize how much it has meant to our section of the country and to the Nation had no stancher ally or more resolute fighter than ESTES KEFAUVER.

When ESTES KEFAUVER departed the company of living men, the people of America—the average American, the common man—lost a devoted friend, a valiant fighter for their cause. The people of the world lost a statesman and a dedicated champion for world peace and understanding. In his spirit and example, the fight for the ideals that were his life will go on with renewed dedication.

He will be forever an influence,
A memory, a goal, a high example,
A thought of honor in some noble heart,
Part of his country's treasure and renown,
Oft giving courage unto souls that strive.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON].

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I had the honor and privilege to serve for many years with ESTES KEFAUVER on the Committee on the Judiciary. It so happened that we were seated beside each other in the committee. During the many years I served with him, I always found him to be fighting for what he considered the rights of the common man in the United States. Also, in many instances, he was fighting against somebody, even in committee. But that did not stop ESTES KEFAUVER from trying to persuade the committee with respect to what he thought was for the best interests for the people of not only his State of Tennessee, but of the United States, as well.

So, with sorrow in my heart, I join my colleagues today in eulogizing ESTES KEFAUVER, the late senior Senator from Tennessee, who left our midst on August 10. I had the good fortune to serve with him. I was among those who attended his funeral in Tennessee; and one would have to go to that funeral in order to know how the people of Tennessee appreciated him. They had tears in their eyes, because they knew they had lost one of their dearest and best friends when they lost ESTES KEFAUVER.

He was one of the most energetic Members of this body, and could be found working with deep interest on any number of legislative projects, regardless of whether they dealt with matters coming before the committee on which he served, or with bills before the Senate. He was the Senate's plodder who insisted on completing a job, regardless of whether it was one which brought headlines and fame or whether it was one of the menial tasks which sometimes bring on criticism and even bitter opposition.

It made no difference to ESTES KEFAUVER, so long as he thought he was fighting for what he believed was right and just.

Even with all the Senate work to which he attended, Senator KEFAUVER found time to write books and to make per-

sonal studies and inquiries, and he was one of the best informed Members of the Senate on the issues before it.

The people of the United States unquestionably will remember him for his conscientious and persistent work on the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly legislation and his never-ending fight against crime and corruption.

One would have to be behind the closed doors of the Senate Judiciary Committee in order really and truly to appreciate the fight ESTES made to try to keep the monopolies from taking over the United States.

He was a friend of the underprivileged and the downtrodden, and did much to set our Nation on a course to overcome one of our major problems—that of juvenile delinquency. More than once he came within reach of the highest office in this land, the Presidency of the United States; but, having failed to attain this office, he never once let disappointment steer him away from what he thought was his duty and what he loved to do—to serve the people of Tennessee and our Nation. His dedication to duty and his good sportsmanship throughout his political life should be an example to others who follow in his footsteps.

My heart and my sympathy go out to his wife, his children, and the other members of his immediate family. They have lost a good husband and a good father; and we have lost a friend and colleague who constantly fought for the rights of all the people of the United States.

I have been asked to read to the Senate a resolution, adopted by the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association, memorializing ESTES KEFAUVER. It is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF CAPITOL HILL CHAPTER, FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION, MEMORIALIZING SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Whereas the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, the senior Senator from Tennessee, was a founding member of the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association and was dedicated to the chapter aims of holding high the standards of the legal profession in the activities of all members of the bar serving in the legislative branch of our Government; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, by his wise counseling, by his attendance at meetings of the chapter, and participation on panels and at conventions of the association, and by his very exemplary life itself was an inspiration to all members of the bar to more noble achievements toward thoroughness in and justice under the law; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, through his many able writings, addresses, floor debates, and untiring committee activities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, contributed immeasurably to a greater public respect for the law and to an improvement in the functioning of Congress; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, who was a truly great American and a credit to his State and Nation, departed this life on August 10, 1963: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association hereby in heartfelt and meaningful terms in the spirit and brotherhood of our great profession, pays tribute to the memory of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, able lawyer, statesman, patriot, and friend, and directs the officers of the chapter to make this resolution known to

the members of our profession and to the best extent possible to the public at large, and that a copy of it be presented to the family of our late and distinguished member. Approved by the chapter council, October 17, 1963.

Unanimously adopted at a general meeting October 24, 1963.

ERWIN G. KRASNOW,
President.

JAMES E. PALMER, Jr.,
Chairman, Memorial Committee.

Attest:

WALDO MOORE,
Secretary.

Mr. President, all of us have lost a very dear and capable friend.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President—

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, it is a privilege to have this opportunity to pay a simple tribute to Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

His untimely death has deprived the Senate of one of its most able, fearless, and courageous Members; and I, personally, have lost a friend with whom I was in close personal association for more than 23 years. This association on many occasions brought me to the great Tennessee Valley, to his great city of Madisonville, to Chattanooga, and to the marvelous works of the TVA, that he had championed for so long.

I knew him in his home, with his wonderful wife, Nancy, and their fine children. I also had the privilege of knowing his father and mother and his faithful and loyal sisters. From time to time, over the years, Nancy and ESTES made me a part of their household. He was as close a friend as I have ever had. It was a totally loyal friendship; and he never faltered in that loyalty.

As an authentic liberal, ESTES KEFAUVER stood firm with those of all nations who champion the dignity of the individual and respect for human rights. This often meant that he championed causes which were not popular in his native State. Time after time the political "dopesters" predicted his defeat at the polls; but at each election he came back stronger than before, which was a testimonial of the respect the people of his great State had for him.

The accomplishments of ESTES KEFAUVER for his country and mankind were legion. There is no need now to set them out. For ESTES KEFAUVER life always kept its zest and savor. In his living there was no unutilized energy. He gave himself wholeheartedly to the engrossing aims and obligations of political life; and no matter how he chanced to feel, in his view the major matters must be got on with.

To Nancy, the children, and sisters, my deepest sympathy.

Mr. President, my senior colleague [Mr. MAGNUSON] is out of the country on official business. Prior to his leaving he prepared a tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed at this point in the RECORD.

CIX—1271

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MAGNUSON

Today the U.S. Senate pauses appropriately to pay tribute to a late and beloved colleague who, stricken in the midst of his arduous labors, has gone to a realm where there is no crime, no cruelty or greed, no wrongs or injustices such as he fought against throughout his earthly career.

I am referring, of course, to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, he of the warm handshake and warmer heart, soft spoken and gentle in manner, but who also could be and was an implacable foe of every form of human exploitation.

ESTES KEFAUVER has been described as a man of many interests while his one great interest was people, all people whatever their walks or conditions of life.

It was ESTES KEFAUVER's interest in people that, I believe, impelled him to seek legislation to protect them from racketeering and monopoly, to assist the consumer, to defend the weak and humble, to combat juvenile delinquency and the black market in unwanted babies, to strengthen international ties and to advance innovations which he felt would make for better government.

When he twice sought the nomination for President of the United States, it is my opinion that he did so not from personal ambition or self-esteem, but in the conviction that as Chief Executive he could achieve more swiftly those objectives which in his heart and mind he deemed would benefit the people of the Nation.

When Senator KEFAUVER was elected to the Senate in November 1948, he was assigned in January to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, now the Committee on Commerce. As we worked together on that committee during the 1st session of the 81st Congress, I came to admire his thoroughness, patience and dedicated application to the problems before us. The friendship we established in those days has been enduring.

Legislation relating to communications, then as now under the committee's jurisdiction, had a special appeal to Senator KEFAUVER, and he served as chairman of two special communications subcommittees.

It was also while he was a member of the committee that he indicated great concern over the problem of organized crime. At the conclusion of the 1st session of the 81st Congress, the Senator transferred to the Judiciary Committee, and was named there with Senator Wiley, of Wisconsin, to serve on a Special Committee To Investigate Crime in America, to which Senators O'Connor of Maryland; Hunt, of Wyoming; and Tobey, of New Hampshire, of the Commerce Committee, were also appointed. As we know, Senator KEFAUVER was designated chairman of this committee, and the broad inquiry into rackets and racketeers in our major cities drew national attention.

As a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952, Senator KEFAUVER entered 18 primaries, winning 15 of them, but Governor Stevenson, of Illinois, received the nomination at Chicago.

In 1956 Senator KEFAUVER again aspired to the Democratic nomination for President, again campaigning in his genial, methodical, people-to-people way, and with limited funds. Again he was not successful in being chosen the standard bearer for his party, but he did gain the personal satisfaction of winning thousands upon thousands of new friends, and to him this was indeed a rich measure of success.

Seeking a third term in the U.S. Senate in 1960, the voters of Tennessee chose him over his opponent by more than a 2-to-1 plurality.

Now he has left us, his work unfinished.

Three bills to which he attached special importance are pending in committees. A bit of ESTES KEFAUVER's spirit lives on in these bills. Whether they are enacted or not, they are fitting symbols of the things he lived and fought for, of his great warmth and humanity, and of his hatred of injustice.

One bill would establish a National Advisory Commission on Interstate Crime with the object of combating the problem that had deeply troubled him ever since he had noted, as a member of the Committee on Commerce 15 years ago, the disregard that racketeers and crime czars hold for State boundaries.

Another bill, which Senator KEFAUVER would have styled the Antiracketeering and Monopoly Boxing Act, would establish the Office of National Boxing Commissioner for the stated purpose of curbing "monopolistic control of professional boxing."

The third bill would establish an Office of Consumers to represent the economic interests of the consuming public before agencies of the Government and to conduct certain surveys and investigations in their behalf.

Senator KEFAUVER was a very busy Senator, but never did he flinch from duty on the numerous committees on which he served and never did he indicate a weariness of the flesh or spirit to his colleagues.

He was a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, in itself a tortuous, grinding job with tremendous responsibility.

He was a member not only of the Senate Judiciary Committee, but of four subcommittees: Constitutional Amendments; Patent, Trademarks and Copyrights; Juvenile Delinquency; and Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation, on the last of which he served as chairman.

I grieve for his passing. All of us here will miss him. All of us will treasure the associations we have had with him through the years. And all of us, I am sure, who have not already done so, will wish to express their sorrow and condolences to his gracious wife and their four children.

He was a husband and father, a statesman and a legislator, a politician, if you please—and most of all a man they will be ever proud of.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA].

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the shock of ESTES KEFAUVER's death has abated somewhat, but the grief at losing a friend remains.

ESTES KEFAUVER was my friend; he was a friend of thousands. On many occasions he was my adversary, but he was always my friend. In all my experience as a lawyer and legislator, I never had a more formidable opponent, yet when the battle was done, it was characteristic of Senator KEFAUVER to extend the sincere hand of friendship.

There were many facets to Senator KEFAUVER. One was the man, the Lincolnnesque figure trudging up and down the Main Streets of Tennessee towns—and towns almost anywhere in the country—his oversized hand probably often aching with pain from too many grasps with his fellow citizens' hands.

Another facet was that of his being a nominee of his party for the Vice Presidency, pursuing the arduous task of cross-country campaigning.

I will remember the time when he made his appearance in the latter part of October 1956, on the occasion of the

national corn picking contest in Columbus, Nebr. He had an arduous schedule. He was tired. His voice was raspy. He had contracted a low grade infection of some kind and was running a fever. But notwithstanding all those handicaps and his condition, he insisted on going out to the field, where a stiff wind was blowing up the dust, and making his appearance, not out of considerations of vanity or considerations of an egotistical nature, but because he did not wish to disappoint the thousands who had gathered there to hear the man from Tennessee.

Another facet of Senator KEFAUVER was the series of televised crime hearings, his softly uttered probings producing a real-life underworld story that fascinated an audience of millions, and made them aware of a condition needing attention.

But I am convinced that the Senator was at his best as chairman of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, on which I served with him for 4 years. He was spectacularly single-minded in his pursuit of evidence of wrongdoing. He challenged the giants of half a dozen major industries.

Within the select committee, Senator KEFAUVER and I often represented widely conflicting viewpoints and philosophies. We differed drastically on point after point, in hearing after hearing, not on the declared purposes or goals sought so much as on the means or methods by which they should be attained.

But throughout, he was always quiet, respectful, and self-controlled. He may at some time have lost his temper. I do not know. But I can truthfully say I never saw him lose his temper.

His soft drawl, his courtly demeanor, his composed features masked a bulldog tenacity which never ceased to surprise his colleagues and his many friends.

As with all men who hold strong views, Senator KEFAUVER suffered defeat and frustration on occasion. Lesser men would have compromised, shifted their positions, and found a way to save face. But that was not the way for ESTES KEFAUVER.

It was not the way for Nancy Kefauver, whose tenacity and other admirable Scotch characteristics matched and supported the convictions of her husband so loyally, so suitably.

Mr. President, while the Senate is a poorer place without ESTES KEFAUVER being here, nevertheless we are the better for his long years of service which enhanced the Congress and its workings mightily.

Mrs. Hruska and I join the many, many friends in extending the tenderest sympathy to his loving and beloved wife, Nancy and the rest of their fine family.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS].

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, in the death of ESTES KEFAUVER the Senate has lost one of its most useful Members and the country one of its most devoted servants.

ESTES KEFAUVER came to the Senate in 1949 after a distinguished career in the House of Representatives, and he was a

Member of this body for nearly 15 years. During that time both we and the millions whom he served learned to know the full measure of the man. He was soft spoken, gentle, and friendly in manner and he had indeed an external simplicity of bearing which excited the derision of many supersophisticates. This simplicity was not put on but was the natural expression of an innate friendliness and a genuine liking for people combined with an utter absence of pretense or posturing. People responded to ESTES' handshake and to his friendly greetings because they knew that he was truly one of them and that he was their champion. So far as the people were concerned, he was probably the most popular Senator of us all.

Underneath this amiability was rock-like integrity, fighting courage, dogged persistence, a sharp and shrewd mind, and warm devotion to the interests of the people. Without large private means and amidst all the temptations of public life, he kept himself clean and unspotted. Nor was his honesty merely a matter of dollars. He was intellectually upright. He would not twist evidence in his own behalf or argue demagogically.

He had the courage of a lion. He early took on the powerful boss of Tennessee, Ed Crump, of Memphis, and won by going directly to the people. He braved the anger and reprisals of the criminal underworld in his famous countrywide crime investigations. He dared to investigate and expose monopolistic control and practices in a wide variety of industries from steel to drugs and in so doing brought down on his head storms of criticism. He worked for the reform of congressional procedures although this did not make him popular with the power structures of the Senate and House. A lover of his native southland, he yet dared to take a national stand on sensitive issues which at least immediately went against the grain of perhaps the majority of citizens in his State.

He had dogged persistence. For years he tried to reform the drug laws of the country in order to protect the public both in matters of price and quality. Fought by the big commercial interests, sniped at and impeded by Government bureaucracy, he nevertheless triumphed as the thalidomide story unfolded and with the help of two heroic women, Drs. Barbara Moulton and Frances Kelsey, he forced a reluctant Congress and bureaucracy to protect the public. He fought to keep the channels of trade and communication open for both business and the consumers. He had a deep faith in ethical competition and waged a lifelong struggle to save that system both from monopoly and from unethical practices. He was a pioneer in stressing the need for the democratic nations to join together in some form of closer union.

And underneath his rustic manner was one of the sharpest minds in the Senate. Under his quiet but penetrating cross-examination he revealed the criminal underworld while he cut equally through the specious defenses of highly paid Wall Street lawyers and adroit lobbyists. He saw the forces which were degrading the

promise of American life and had the wit to lay them bare. He was in fact an authentic intellectual, although he took pains to obey Kipling's mandate of not looking too good or talking too wise.

But most of all ESTES KEFAUVER had a great heart for the welfare of people. He was their tribune and their champion without affectation or pretense. His great heart literally broke fighting their battles over who was to control Telstar communications and his death occurred in the midst of his last battle on this issue.

Finally, may I close on a personal note. He was my friend for nearly 20 years, ever since he and my wife served together in the House of Representatives.

I am proud that I supported him in 1952 in his campaign for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, and that I walked with him the last bitter mile as many of the powerful sought to heap humiliation upon him. His bearing under defeat turned reverses into spiritual victory.

We worked together in the Senate for most of the same causes and his loss is a heavy one. He stood up tall and straight in this body and he will long be remembered. A true tribune of the people has entered the Valhalla of the valiant. May his successful example inspire others to be more like him.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President—
Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the one word—irreparable—has been on the lips not only of many of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER's colleagues but of countless Americans in characterizing his loss. Perhaps, as is often said, there are no indispensable men. However, the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER causes me—and I doubt not many others—to challenge that facile assumption. I believe that his loss is irreparable—irreparable to the Senate, to the whole Congress, to his State of Tennessee, which he loved so well, but more important to the entire Nation—and, perhaps, beyond our natural boundaries when one considers the image of democracy at its finest that he projected to the entire world. Is not his the image, the American image, that we as Americans would like to have projected to all mankind? I so feel.

The American people, in any event, were truly bereaved when that great soul that was ESTES KEFAUVER departed this life.

His was a battle casualty. He was fatally wounded in action. It was on the floor of the Senate late one afternoon, toward the close of a grueling day, while engaged in one of his monumental battles—and leading that battle—that he was stricken. He was fighting, along with a small group of his colleagues, against a monopoly, an unregulated monopoly, "organized for private profit," as the bill creating it clearly spelled out; a monopoly in a vast new and unexplored cosmic field—in a field infinite, with unknown and untapped possibilities—space. He had carried on that battle

with 15 of his colleagues a year previously in the 87th Congress. He lost that battle, but it was renewed when the effort to authorize the appropriation of \$45 million to subsidize that corporation "organized for private profit" again raised the issue forcibly whether it was really a private corporation, and if so, whether it should be. The issue on that fatal day was the justification, or lack of justification, for an appropriation for a corporation—presented to the Congress as pure private enterprise—which at the first possible opportunity appeared to be reaching, and reaching deeply, into the Federal Treasury. It was in the midst of this struggle that ESTES KEFAUVER fell ill. Later in the evening, he went to the hospital, where 30 hours later, his great heart gave way.

As always, that fight, like ESTES KEFAUVER's many others, was a fight for the public interest. Indeed, the public interest never had a stancher, more determined, more indefatigable champion in public life than ESTES KEFAUVER. His eminent public career in the House of Representatives for 8 years and in the Senate for 15 years, was illuminated by his unflinching espousal of causes and of legislation that sought to make life better, fuller, and more meaningful for the great mass of the American people. He was instinctively a champion of the underdog, of the underprivileged, of the so-called little people, whose welfare, whose frustrations, and whose hopes were ever his concern. And the people whose causes he espoused recognized him as their defender. No Member of the Congress was more widely known and more widely beloved. He was the people's Senator, and he was a national figure.

As a defender of the consumer, ESTES KEFAUVER inevitably found himself arrayed against the powerful vested interests which by and large dominate many aspects of American life. He found himself arrayed against entrenched political bossism when he took on and ultimately vanquished the powerful Crump machine in his home State of Tennessee. He found himself in conflict with big industry, with big steel, and other great corporations, with their administered prices. He was concerned with the effect of those prices whether it be steel or electrical equipment or bread or any of the essentials of modern life on the cost of living of the American family. And so he fought them.

He waged a heroic battle against abuses in the drug industry. His concern was not merely for the health of the American people, so deeply implicated in the medicines they need, but for their pocketbooks. He knew of the high cost of medication and worked hard to do something about it. He won battles—notably in the 87th Congress, when the unexpected revelations about thalidomide and its macabre effects on the unborn caused one of those miraculous breaks in the entrenched opposition to his efforts and gave him the signal victory for the legislation he had sought. He realized that although he had won that battle, the war still remained to be

won. Now it has lost its mightiest warrior and its leader.

He waged a war against crime and racketeering. He showed up its connection with some of the big city political machines and their resulting corruption and earned for himself the antagonism of some of those high in political life. It did not faze him in the least. He was unswerving from what he deemed the path of rectitude.

A southerner, he refused to sign the southern manifesto calling for massive resistance to desegregation, thus performing one of his numerous acts of courage and further evidencing the depth of his democratic feeling. He was wholly free from prejudice on the basis of race, color, or creed.

We Alaskans will always be grateful to him for his early and vigorous support of Alaska's statehood as he likewise gave his voice and vote to Hawaii's. His deep faith in the basic American principle of government by consent of the governed made that support natural and consistent with ESTES' political philosophy.

Perhaps the outstanding example of ESTES KEFAUVER's courage took place during the height of the era of McCarthyism. Then, the denunciation of anyone as soft on communism was presumed to be a politically lethal blow. Demonstrating their freedom from such an imputation, and undoubtedly also because they deemed the Communist conspiracy a real menace to our freedom and our democratic institutions, Representatives and Senators sponsored legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. There was a bandwagon rush to support it. In the debate preceding the vote ESTES KEFAUVER, who had taken an extensive part in the discussion, said:

Many of us are concerned about the precedent of outlawing a particular group. Perhaps next year Congress will not like some other group. Perhaps 10 years from now Congress may not like another group. In the history of this Nation, is this not a new approach to the problem? Have we ever outlawed any group before in the history of the United States? In the history of our Nation, has any group ever been outlawed or condemned as illegal by legislative enactment?

Apparently, he did not get what, to him, were satisfactory answers to his questions. He continued his questioning to determine whether, under the provisions of the pending legislation, there was a right of appeal or judicial determination if and when enactment had taken place in the Senate.

Although ESTES KEFAUVER was no less aware than his colleagues of the existence of the Communist conspiracy and its sinister purposes, it was evident that he had, nevertheless, serious doubts about the wisdom of this legislation as a means of combating the Communist menace at home. Fearing that he would vote against the legislation, his staff and others pleaded with him to go along with what was bound to be an overwhelming majority. They warned him that to do otherwise would be political suicide. But ESTES KEFAUVER refused to be stampeded by the current hysteria, nor did he think that our American institutions were so

fragile that they could be impaired by the few Communists in our midst.

When the roll was called, the bill was passed by a vote of 81 to 1—the 1 was ESTES KEFAUVER.

But, however determined, persistent, and tenacious his battling, ESTES KEFAUVER was never bitter, even after some disappointing setbacks, never vindictive, and as far as I can remember, never angry, or at least if he was, he did not show it by any display of temper. The even tone and low key of his unemotional delivery—for he was not a fiery orator—reflected the calmness and serenity of his temperament. He could be indignant at what he considered injustice and evil, but his indignation was not directed at his fellow men as individuals.

For, above everything else, he was a kind person, a gentle person, a modest person, and, however deeply he felt involved in the causes for which he fought, he fought them without rancor, without malice, without self-glorification, and with full appreciation of the other fellow's point of view.

His greatness lay in his steadfast devotion to the principles and to the causes for which he fought, and in the courage which made him oblivious to the odds against him and to any political consequences that might follow. That, despite some hard-fought electoral contests, these contests turned out to be without adverse political consequences, is a tribute to the people of his State of Tennessee who, even if they did not always agree with him, recognized the integrity, sincerity, and honesty which ESTES KEFAUVER so conspicuously incarnated.

His place will not be filled, and his departure leaves a tragic void in our public life. The tragedy lies in the fact that at age 60 he could have been expected to give for another score of years the kind of dedicated public service that often almost singlehanded he had been rendering.

We shall all miss him sorely, and our sympathy goes out not only to the American people who are so much poorer for his passing, but first and foremost to his lovely wife and beautiful children, to whom he was so devoted.

It is pertinent that ESTES KEFAUVER died poor, but to his family he left a priceless legacy and to America a shining example.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, when ESTES KEFAUVER passed away, the average man in America lost a true, trusted, and genuine friend. Millions of his fellow Americans had the highest admiration and respect for ESTES KEFAUVER; and those of us who served with him in the House of Representatives, and later in the Senate, know that this feeling of comradeship was fully and justly deserved.

ESTES KEFAUVER talked a language that everyone understood. Time and again he demonstrated a remarkable ability to translate the great and complicated problems and challenges of his time into the simplest phrases. In a quiet and

uncomplicated way he invariably came to grips with complex issues, and striking at the very heart of the problems in question, without losing sight of genuine human value.

Throughout his career of public service, ESTES KEFAUVER demonstrated the courageous independence that is the hallmark of leadership. His genius enabled him to look beyond the marbled halls and lobbies of Capitol Hill to ascertain the effect of any given legislative proposal upon his fellow Americans, who seldom come here or get in touch directly with us to express their fears and more important, their hopes.

His unwavering devotion to individual rights often confounded the pressure groups. ESTES KEFAUVER held fast to the philosophy of freedom and rugged individualism that, in an earlier time, guided the statesmanship of another Tennessean, Andrew Jackson. When the coonskin cap became his political symbol, millions of his fellow Americans grasped the idea. They loved this tall and scholarly Tennessean. They liked the way he looked you straight in the eye, and the way he spoke not only from the head but from the heart.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a genuine liberal and a progressive, in that he sought new solutions and was willing to consider the validity of new answers to old questions. He was a tireless crusader. Perhaps no man in all history shook hands with as many people throughout the Nation as did ESTES KEFAUVER in two presidential campaigns.

He loved people, and they responded to him. I had seen him arrive at 2 o'clock, after a day that had begun some 16 or 18 hours earlier, and spend time with people, not because he was campaigning, but because the people had waited for him until 2 o'clock in the morning and he felt they should not go away disappointed.

I had seen him fulfill a grueling and grinding campaign schedule that ended at 2 in the morning and was resumed at 6 o'clock in the morning, through dust storms in my home State; and I had seen him travel through the parched earth area of Oklahoma that year because he loved the people and felt that the people were entitled to have the benefit of his ideas about government.

He was unselfish. Although he had lost the fight he had made for the nomination for the Presidency, he worked unselfishly and tirelessly for the successful candidate at the Democratic Convention, and worked as hard for him, or even harder than he worked for himself.

As chairman of the Antitrust Subcommittee in the Senate, as an active member of the Select Committee on Small Business, as chairman of the Anticrime Committee, his uncompromising courage and diligence in fighting wrong-doing and vice, yielded great benefits to all.

The issues which he sponsored, not passively, but aggressively, were myriad.

ESTES KEFAUVER never asked, "Is the issue popular?" Instead, he asked, "Is it right?" and acted on that basis. He never asked the question, "Can it pass?"

but, "Should it pass?" and gave his full attention to the effort to have it passed.

He stood for world peace and for the establishment of the United Nations before it was actually proposed. He was a stalwart supporter of NATO, the Marshall plan, food for peace, and foreign aid, and was active in that field of affairs when often such stands were unpopular, but were necessary to bring the United States into a position of leadership as the only Nation to which others could look. He favored the TVA, REA, social security, medical care, antitrust legislation, civil rights, inflation control, and other important measures on the floor of the Senate and in the House of Representatives at an early date. In the matter of a philosophical approach to governmental issues, he was a scholar. He was constantly thinking about and studying proposals for congressional reforms. In the reorganization of Congress, he was one of the strongest supporters, and he advocated many new and vital suggestions to help modernize our system.

ESTES KEFAUVER knew how to fight a good fight. His sense of fairness, and his gentlemanly approach to debate and parliamentary procedures, endeared him to all who worked alongside him in Congress.

His vision, his integrity, his talent, and his devotion often caused him to place service ahead of self; and thus it was that this desire to work, to do, to achieve, and to fight for others, and the schedule that he set for himself brought to him the untimely toll of death.

To his gracious wife and their fine children, Mrs. Monronee and I extend our deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I now yield to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA].

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the departure from our ranks of our colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, was a shock to us all.

My first thought on hearing of his death was that the people of this country had lost one of the greatest champions they could have in public life.

By the people, I mean those ordinary folk who have no expensive lobbies and no vested interest in anything but good government.

It was a dedication to the rights of his fellowman and their protection against exploitation that characterized ESTES KEFAUVER's public career.

Few men have enjoyed the recognition and respect that greeted him from one end of our country to the other.

He was welcomed so often in Michigan, for example, that we felt he almost was one of our native sons.

In the Senate, ESTES KEFAUVER made an outstanding record in many legislative battles, but always he was on the side of his friends, the people.

Speaking as one who feels honored to have known and worked with Senator KEFAUVER for nearly 10 years, I can say only that he will be sorely missed.

I join with my many colleagues in expressing deep sympathy to Nancy, his

lovely wife, the children, and all of his relations in their sorrow.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH].

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, each of us in this body feels genuine loss in the passing of our colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

As the falling of a mighty tree leaves a void against the sky, so the passing of this tall Tennessean creates a vacuum which can be neither quickly filled nor easily forgotten. We shall miss his forthright counsel and his independent strength as we seek to carry forward the legislative burdens of the Nation.

It was my privilege to know ESTES KEFAUVER as a friend and coworker since the 76th Congress, when he came to the House of Representatives. We served together in the Senate in a spirit of cooperation which was engendered by mutual interests. He was, as I sensed it, a public servant of energy, devotion and conscience.

Throughout his career as a lawyer and Member of Congress and vice presidential candidate, ESTES KEFAUVER never lost touch with the individual citizen—the man in the street—whose trust and respect he won in countless battles. In the courts of law, in congressional hearing rooms, and in debate, he was ever the steadfast friend and champion of the people, as he knew them.

He was a tall man physically. But he was one who was quick to stoop to aid those who needed assistance.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be missed by his colleagues in the Senate, and by the constituency he served in Tennessee, and throughout the Nation.

Mrs. Randolph joins me in extending most sincere sympathy to Nancy and the children. We shall remember him. We shall remember them.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH].

ESTES KEFAUVER; CHAMPION OF THE COMMON MAN

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, he came from Madisonville in Monroe County in his beloved Tennessee; his life was worthy of the best deeds of the two exemplars for whom his town and his county were named.

And when they carried ESTES KEFAUVER back for burial on the family farm in Monroe County in the rugged hills of east Tennessee last August 13, from a life untimely ended in the full prime of his effectiveness, a grateful people gathered from all parts of the Union to pay him homage. Their car license plates read from Maine to California; many doubtless lacked the means for plane tickets, but they came in the uncounted thousands, driving their own cars across a continent, to pay their last respects to the body of the leader who had come to be in America, the candidate and champion of the common man. He was that and more; he was the unfailing champion, advocate, and defender of the common man in the Halls of the Congress of the United States. I was there in Tennessee last August 13. Mr. Presi-

dent; I saw the people. I was here in the Senate with ESTES KEFAUVER, Mr. President; my office was just around the corner from his on the fourth floor of the Old Senate Office Building. I give a testimony today, based on my personal knowledge of their man. Providence has privileged me to have been a living witness to a part of the life of one of our Senate greats, a man whose life casts a beneficial glow on the whole work of the Senate. He came from the mountains, he reflected their strength in his own life.

ESTES KEFAUVER first came to widespread public notice in my home State by fighting for the Tennessee Valley Authority, as a Congressman. Next, he gave the hearts of our people a lift by beating the Crump machine in the Tennessee Senate race of 1948, and coming to the U.S. Senate. His crime committee investigation of big crime in America brought him national fame, enhanced by the judicious, dignified, and fair manner in which he conducted the hearings. My first opportunity to see and hear ESTES KEFAUVER came in September 1951 at the national convention of the American Bar Association in New York City. He spoke for a public defender in the courts for those defendants unable to employ an attorney. An investigator of crime and criminals, he demanded the protection of the law for those accused of lawlessness.

In his drive for the Presidency in 1952, he was an extremely popular figure in my home State of Texas, and in the campaign of 1956, when he was his party's nominee for the Vice Presidency, I had the privilege of traveling with him in a caravan from Dallas to Waco, of seeing throngs of people cheered by his friendly, modest, unostentatious greetings. Instinctively, the people trusted him.

He was a generous man, in all facets of his life. His aids were permitted to help other Senators with research. I was the beneficiary of such aid by his staff. ESTES KEFAUVER was extravagant with his time in pursuit of justice for the people. He was generous with his time, for anyone seeking counsel or assistance.

When I came to the Senate in 1957, he and his charming wife, Nancy, were the first people in Washington to invite my wife, Opal, and me into their home. He was hospitable, in the best traditions of his native Tennessee.

He was a friendly man, friendly to everybody, but he was more than that to me. He was my personal friend. I counted him my closest friend in the Senate. Our hearts are full of sympathy for his beautiful and fine family. I felt a debt to his ideals, as those other great Tennesseans, Andrew Jackson, and Andrew Johnson; and Sam Houston had inspired other Texans in other generations. ESTES KEFAUVER is in the mold of a Sam Houston or an Andrew Johnson or an Andrew Jackson or a James K. Polk; he is worthy to be ranked with them.

ESTES KEFAUVER was cast in the mold of a Jackson or a Houston. Independent, fearless, fighting against great odds,

taking on the political kingmakers of the Nation singlehanded, plunging into a just cause without pausing to count the cost, never slowing down for his own personal aches or pains, standing on his feet to protect the people, even with the fingers of death closing upon him; he was a champion to cheer for, a friend and leader to mourn. There is an emptiness in the Senate Chamber now that may not be filled in our lifetime.

Personally, I counted ESTES KEFAUVER among the five most vital and valuable persons serving the Government of the United States, counting all branches of government.

I have given this subject considerable thought since ESTES KEFAUVER left this body in August. It is my considered judgment that there are not three persons working in the Government of the United States today who are more valuable to the people of the United States than was ESTES KEFAUVER.

In the investigation of the conspiracy of the manufacturers of electrical equipment, ESTES KEFAUVER uncovered enough evidence of conspiracy to cause the manufacturers to plead guilty. My home city of Austin, Tex., owns its own electrical plant. On one piece of equipment costing millions of dollars the electrical manufacturers had all entered identical bids. After the Kefauver exposure, the manufacturer, this year, reduced the bid on one piece of equipment alone by \$600,000, saving that amount for the taxpaying and electricity-using citizens of Austin, Tex., my home city, on only one piece of equipment.

Consider how much he meant to the whole country.

His work covered many fields of our economic life. By his courageous stand against powerful forces in both parties in the drug investigation he prevented the sale of thalidomide as a pain relieving drug to pregnant mothers, and thus saved families the tears and agonies of limbless babies.

He led the fight last year against the monopolistic giveaway of our uses of outer space for communications purposes. He virtually died on his feet fighting against a furtherance of that giveaway.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a gallant champion. His life has added one of the brightest chapters in the whole history of the Senate, in all of its generations. May his family take solace and comfort from the great useful inspiring life he lived.

Mr. President, many tributes were written about ESTES KEFAUVER after he died. I want to place two of them in the RECORD—two that were written by the working people he loved. They were written about a man they loved and trusted. He was worthy of their trust; he was worthy of America's pride and trust.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "ESTES KEFAUVER—A Gallant Champion," published in the Retail Clerks International Advocate for September 1963, and an

article entitled "Champion of Rail Workers: KEFAUVER'S Death a Great Loss to Labor and Nation," published in Labor, an international weekly newspaper, of August 17, 1963.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Retail Clerks International Advocate, September 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER—"A GALLANT CHAMPION"

Members of the RCIA join the Nation in mourning the death of ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. Senator, twice an aspirant for the office of President, and a steadfast friend of the union member, the consumer—the ordinary citizen.

His courage and conviction forged a close bond between Senator KEFAUVER and the officers and members of the Retail Clerks International Association that endured for many years until his death at 60.

As a featured speaker at the Diamond Jubilee Year Convention held in Chicago in June, as well as at the 22d International Convention in New York City in 1951, he was attentively listened to and warmly received.

His remarks illustrated his character and outlook as well as expressed the warm friendship shared between him and the RCIA.

His philosophy of fair treatment of working men and women was summed up at the New York City convention of the RCIA:

"We feel that labor is not entitled to any special consideration, any special advantage, but that you are entitled to an equal status, an equal opportunity, and that you are entitled to have laws that are going to treat you fairly.

"Seeing that that is done is a determination which many of us are not going to forget, and it will be done whenever we have the votes and the strength which we are rapidly gaining in the Congress of the United States to bring that about."

Senator KEFAUVER'S public record was a measure of the man. He fought against the Taft-Hartley Act and fought hard for the extension of the minimum wage law to retailing and an increase in the minimum. He fought for the Tennessee Valley Authority and was the scourge of organized crime.

His greatest achievement perhaps was the Kefauver drug law passed last year, giving comprehensive protection and assurance to the purchasers of prescription drugs.

At the time of his death he was working to extend the protections guaranteed to consumers by the Federal Government. At the 24th International Convention in Chicago he urged support for a Federal Council of Consumers:

"From the other side of the counter, the consumer's side, there is also a need for action at the Federal Government level. Businessmen have their Department of Commerce; workers have their Department of Labor; and farmers, though their number is dwindling, still have their Department of Agriculture.

"Yet nowhere in the Federal Government is there any official, independent voice for the consumer—and that term applies to just about everybody these days.

"I am sponsoring a bill, along with 27 other Senators, to establish a Consumer Council. The idea would be that consideration would be given at the top level of government to the points of view of the consumer."

The tall Tennessean was frequently compared to Andrew Jackson, who also came from that State. Through their homespun outlook and their championing of the cause of the common man—as well as their

unreserved acceptance by the voters—they met on common ground.

After death Senator KEFAUVER returned to his birthplace, Madisonville, Tenn. His simple burial there was fitting for a statesman who had never lost touch with the people.

He was born there on July 26, 1903, the son of a dairy farmer and hardware dealer who was the town's mayor.

He entered politics on a State level in 1938 and was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1939. Reelected four times, he entered the Senate in 1949, serving continuously until his death.

KEFAUVER made an unsuccessful bid to become the Democratic presidential nominee in 1952 and 1956 and was chosen as vice presidential candidate in 1956 to team with Adlai Stevenson who headed the Democratic slate that year.

At the conclusion of KEFAUVER's address to the RCIA convention in June 1951, International President Suffridge thanked the Senator in words that are appropriate as an epitaph:

"I think all of us know and realize the background of the Senator who just spoke to us. We know him as a man who has the warmth of a Lincoln, a man who has the foresight and vision of an F.D.R., and a man who has the integrity of a Jefferson."

[From Labor, International Weekly Newspaper, Aug. 17, 1963]

CHAMPION OF RAILWORKERS: KEFAUVER'S DEATH A GREAT LOSS TO LABOR AND NATION

Railroad workers and all other Americans suffered a heavy loss last week when Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, died in a Washington hospital. A heart attack which at first seemed mild proved fatal.

KEFAUVER, 60, literally worked himself to death for the public good. In his last 2 days, he led a group of liberal Senators in a strenuous but losing fight against another giveaway—this time of \$44 million of the taxpayers' money, to the Communications Satellite Corp., dominated by giant American Telephone Co.

After long and hot debate, the Senate passed a \$5.5 billion Space Agency authorization bill with the \$44 million in it.

KEFAUVER was serving his third term in the Senate and had previously been in the House for 10 years. In his election campaigns, the whole-hearted support of railroad labor and the union movement as a whole helped him overcome powerful opposition by selfish and sometimes sinister interests, who hated him for his courage and independence.

BATTLING FOR RAILMEN

In this session of the Senate, KEFAUVER was pushing his bill to declare a "moratorium" on railroad mergers until December 31, 1964, so as to give Congress time to study the shattering effects of the huge mergers on rail employment and the public interest.

Also, he cosponsored legislation for an investigation of railroad finances and ownership. And he cosponsored a resolution for continued negotiations in the big rail work rules dispute under the eye of a watchdog committee of Congress.

These latest actions by KEFAUVER are typical of the helpful hand he has given to railworkers and labor as a whole many times in the past.

Son of a pioneer Tennessee family, KEFAUVER won fame as an athlete at the State's university, and was elected president of the student body. He worked his way through Yale Law School, taught and practiced law in Chattanooga, helped win the fight for TVA, and was active in local and State civic affairs until he was elected to the U.S. House, where he served with great distinction.

EXPOSED UNDERWORLD

After moving up to the Senate, KEFAUVER gained national renown by his investigation

of organized crime and its corrupting effects on public morals and politics. Lords of the underworld, and some political leaders, never forgave him for that, and contributed lavishly to the campaign funds of some of his opponents in later elections. Nevertheless, KEFAUVER always won.

By 1952, KEFAUVER had gained such national stature that he won 14 of the 17 State presidential primaries, but he lost out to Adlai Stevenson in the party nominating convention. The same thing happened in the 1956 presidential campaign, but he was chosen then as vice presidential nominee.

FOUGHT MONOPOLISTS

Always a leading fighter for consumers and against monopolists and price fixers, KEFAUVER conducted famed probes of price rigging in the steel, electrical equipment, drug and other industries. He succeeded in putting new "teeth" in the antitrust laws and stronger controls over marketing of drugs after the shocking "thalidomide" scandal broke.

The latest result of his battles in the drug field came on the day he died. The Federal Trade Commission ruled that six big drug manufacturers "conspired to raise and fix prices on tetracycline, the leading antibiotic drug, with sales over \$100 million a year."

Success of this illegal conspiracy, the FTC said, was made possible by a patent which Chas. Pfizer & Co., a giant of the drug industry, obtained by deceiving the U.S. Patent Office. KEFAUVER, in his reports on his drug probe, always emphasized that misuse of patents is a main foundation for the monopolistic system which makes old and ill people pay exorbitant prices for prescription drugs.

MANY TRIBUTES

Messages of tribute to KEFAUVER poured in from all over the Nation. Foremost among these was one by President Kennedy. He declared that KEFAUVER's "devotion to the public interest and the welfare of the people made him a powerful influence." Kennedy added that his death "deprived the Nation of one of its most distinguished leaders."

Some words spoken by one of Shakespeare's characters might well be applied to ESTES KEFAUVER: "He was a man, take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE].

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, like most successful men in public life, ESTES KEFAUVER had a public image. But unlike many nationally prominent individuals, his image was the man himself. He was no different in or out of the spotlight. It is one of the prime reasons why people throughout the breadth of our great land loved him so well. They could sense that he spoke and acted always from the heart; that he was not schooled on Madison Avenue. Nor was he glazed with a veneer of cordiality that concealed cynicism and contempt from those from whom he sought support. He was real; he was genuine. It is possible for some of us to speak with firsthand knowledge on that particular phase of this great man.

In my own State of Wyoming, his influence was considerable. The reservoir of followers that filled to overflowing throughout the years during the many trips he made to my State stands as a living monument to the kind of direct inspiration he instilled in people.

One incident among many that we still talk about in Wyoming occurred in the campaign of 1956, when he was visiting a small community in southwest

Wyoming—a big community in our terms, but small when considered from here—Rock Springs, in Sweetwater County. Senator KEFAUVER was to make a brief appearance, to include a speech and a public reception.

When his plane landed at the local airport, there were no portable stairs. Most of the airports in that area are not equipped to handle some of the larger planes that fly across that part of the country. For a while, it looked as though the people would have to content themselves with a speech made from the door of the aircraft at the airport. But ESTES, as the people were all calling him, even then, ordered the crew to uncrate the portable ladder which most of these craft carry. It was a chute; and in a grand swoop, he slid down out of the plane through the chute and into the crowd.

This was no idle gesture on his part, and was never interpreted in that way. It illustrated very well the innate dignity of ESTES KEFAUVER which lay in his sincerity and in the conviction that the average man was his concern. The people out my way have never forgotten that little incident.

Only 2 or 3 weeks before his passing, ESTES honored me by appearing in Cheyenne, the capital city of my State, at a testimonial dinner. His appearance at that dinner drew from the city of Rock Springs a delegation of 35 persons, who drove a distance of 275 miles, not to testimonialize McGEE, but to pay tribute to the presence there of ESTES KEFAUVER, who, although he was a Senator from Tennessee, was indeed a man of all Americans. They felt that a part of ESTES belonged to them. They were thrilled, once again, because he paid special attention to them; he had taken time from the busy round of events in Cheyenne to visit with them and to reminisce over some of the incidents of the past.

But even as I suggest that the people of Wyoming, individually, venerated ESTES KEFAUVER, still another incident bears recounting. One of the pleasantest visits, a visit that I shall never forget, was a short trip he and I took, along with some of our colleagues—I see in the Chamber the distinguished junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young], who was in the party—to Yellowstone Park, last July. Yellowstone Park is more than Wyoming; it is "Crossroads, U.S.A."

What would have impressed any casual visitor at that moment, as we were standing in the vast lobby of the Lake Hotel, in the center of the park, was how all of America seemed to recognize at once the presence of ESTES. They said: "Hi, ESTES. Hello, ESTES. I last saw you, ESTES, in Minnesota"—or "Alabama"—or "New Hampshire." People all across the land crossed his trail in Yellowstone Park. ESTES KEFAUVER loved the people, and that affection was reciprocated.

There was more to this great and beloved public servant than even his true humility, his candor, his love of people, and their love, in turn, of him. In continually pressing for the achievement of the causes in which he believed, he in-

spired not only the plain people of America, but also the leaders at all levels and in connection with all causes, to follow his example.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a true liberal. He was convinced that the individual's lot in life could be improved and ought to be improved, and he dedicated his every effort to achieving that improvement.

His effective work in this body in the fight against organized crime, against unfair monopoly, and against those who would compromise the standards of service to the public is an indication of his real concern for the welfare of his fellow men.

ESTES KEFAUVER was not only a man of strong principles, he also worked to put those principles into action. And work, to ESTES KEFAUVER, was just that—work, hard work, and plenty of it. Just as his style of political campaigning meant meeting more people and shaking more hands, so his style of legislative work meant keeping longer hours and holding more hearings than most of his contemporaries. He was never known to shrink from a task or to give up before the job was complete. And neither would he shrink from a position he believed correct, just because it might be unpopular or might expose him to the mudslinging attacks of those who would pander to the mean and petty side of human nature, for political ends.

It is easy to talk about ESTES KEFAUVER, he was a big man and his memory and the memory of many associations with him brings a warm glow to the spirit. But it is certainly far more difficult to realize that he is no longer with us. His loss has already been keenly felt in this body and in our country. But even though he has passed on, his principles, his example, and his courage live on and still are very much with us. They become the guidelines and the inspiration to many of the rest of us. Those inspirations do not die.

We miss ESTES. The people of his State miss him. The Nation misses him. All of them need the kind of leadership and courage he exemplified.

Mrs. McGee would join me in expressing our sympathy to his lovely wife, Nancy, and their family. As Americans, we shall ever be proud of this great man, this great American.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President—

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER and I served together in the House of Representatives. We became good friends then, and over the years I held him in the highest esteem. His sudden death last August shocked the entire Nation. We are still saddened by his loss, and, indeed, will be for many years to come.

Mr. President, when I say the entire Nation was shocked by his passing, I recall distinctly two occasions—one, in the Virgin Islands; another, on the campaign trail—when literally scores and scores of men, women, boys, and girls crowded around ESTES KEFAUVER, seeking his autograph, which he patient-

ly gave; and from time to time he would say to someone, "This is Senator YOUNG, and he will give you his autograph." However, Mr. President, they were not seeking any autograph except that of this truly great man, ESTES KEFAUVER.

He was in every way a man of courage, of conviction, of tenacity, of great ability, and of dedication, known to and beloved by Americans—by the ordinary, average "little fellows," as we say—by the rank and file of the citizens of our country, in whose behalf he ceaselessly toiled.

He was always a dedicated public servant; he was always a champion of the "have-not's." A fine, big man, himself, he was always strenuously fighting for the rights of men and women whom he considered were being pushed around by those who were more powerful. He was a tireless foe of organized crime, of monopoly, and of special interests.

He was, in a very real respect, always a champion of the underdog, a guardian of the public interest. As such, he endeared himself to countless numbers of Americans in all walks of life. While he usually appeared unhurried and relaxed, he was at all times a man of great industry.

I am proud and honored to have served for many years with this "man in the coonskin cap." For more than 25 years, he served his native State of Tennessee and his Nation. He served with distinction as an official of his State, as a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and as a Member of the Senate of the United States. During those years, ESTES KEFAUVER knew defeat, as well as victory; setbacks, as well as accomplishments. Yet, he never wavered in his determination that all Americans receive "a fair shake."

I recall very well that in 1952 he made a tremendous impression in Ohio when, almost alone, he campaigned for support as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. I was then in private life—having been retired by the will of the voters of my State in 1950. As a private citizen, I gladly gave him my enthusiastic support and help. At that time I knew of other powerful supporters and very close friends that he made in Ohio. One I have distinctly in mind was Edward "Ted" Lamb, of Toledo, who admired ESTES KEFAUVER so very much because, like ESTES, Ted Lamb has always been a champion of the underprivileged. Over the years Ted Lamb would speak almost reverently of his affection and admiration for ESTES KEFAUVER.

Let me say that this young lawyer, Edward "Ted" Lamb, in recent years has become chairman of the board of the Seiberling Tire and Rubber Co., of Akron, and is the head of the Edward Lamb Industries, of Toledo. He is a nationally known industrialist, an internationally famed sportsman, and a self-made millionaire a good many times over. Back in 1952 he was a lawyer, as was I, in Ohio; and he inspired me to do my utmost for ESTES KEFAUVER. Of course, the kingmakers of that time were too powerful. ESTES KEFAUVER—as was the situation on frequent occasions during his long life of truly dedicated public service—was fighting against well-nigh

insurmountable odds. However, he was always cheerful and forthright; he never looked behind, to see whether he had a following host. He was always looking ahead, for the welfare of the people of the United States. He would have made a great President of the United States.

He was as towering a figure in ability and integrity, as he was in stature. His leadership, his counsel, his undaunted courage, and his presence among those of us who serve as Members of the Senate were highly valued. He has been, and will be, greatly missed in this Chamber.

To his lovely wife, Nancy, their children, and the other members of their family, we extend our deepest sympathy. There is no real consolation one can offer on the death of a beloved husband and father. However, there has been bequeathed to them a priceless gift—a name that always will stand for courage, dedication, unsurpassed integrity, and fighting for democracy—ESTES KEFAUVER.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART].

Mr. HART. Mr. President, this will not be a long speech. There is no need for one from me. The grief occasioned by Senator KEFAUVER's death has been crystallized into words by men more articulate than I.

President Kennedy has said that the Nation is deprived of one of its finest leaders.

The distinguished minority leader has described Mr. KEFAUVER as "a man with deep convictions, a rare persistence and a tremendous courage."

David McDonald of the United Steelworkers called him "a true friend of labor and all mankind."

Ambassador Stevenson said, "The people have lost a gallant champion and I have lost an old friend and a comrade in arms."

Those last words—when I read them—were among the ones that touched me most deeply because they so exactly reflected my own feelings.

There was a long list of true and touching comment. It was all eloquent, it was all sincere and it all came from men important in the affairs of the Nation.

And yet I know that many here will agree with me that important men are not best qualified to eulogize this Senator. He was courtly and considerate to all but he was never eager to seek the favor of important people.

It would seem to me far more useful to seek out judgments on the man from farmers and housewives and lathe operators and shipping clerks.

I know of one such simple testimonial. A telephone repairman in Michigan said it and it was simply—"What a shame. He was such a good man."

An eloquent comment, I think, from a man unpracticed in phrasemaking. It is not an exaggeration to say that the people thought of ESTES KEFAUVER as a protector.

Common people everywhere—and perhaps not without some justification—have the feeling that there are great and powerful forces alined against their best interests.

But having a man like ESTES KEFAUVER around did a lot to relieve their feeling of helplessness. Because he was a crusader—against crime, against monopolies, against bigotry—and when he crusaded, he crusaded because he was angry.

But we can write this down about him: His outrage never diminished his sense of fairness. And this perhaps more than any other characteristic was the source of his greatness.

Senator KEFAUVER and I very rarely found ourselves opposed on any issues. But whenever such an occasion did occur, whenever I found that his position differed from mine, I reexamined my reasoning very carefully before finally casting an opposing vote. But, as I say, it did not happen often.

Certainly, I am proud to recall that I worked with him very closely on the drug bill during those bleak days in the last session when support for this legislation was something short of overwhelming. But he stood firm and finally the thalidomide episode dramatized the righteousness of the cause.

Senator KEFAUVER instrumented a great tradition in this body and there are many of us who hope fervently that he can be somehow continued.

Certainly, the battles he fought deserve to go on with the same vigorous, decisive spirit. This, in truth, would be the greatest tribute we could give the man.

His was a greatness we shall not see often. Any man can be envied his friends. But only when a man is truly great will you find many who will—as I do—envy him his enemies as well.

I promised a short speech. This one has been perhaps too long already. Because when we get down to it, what more is there to say than: "What a shame. He was such a good man."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG].

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I should like to join my distinguished colleagues in the Senate in honoring the memory of my friend—a great American—the gentleman from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER, whose sudden passing in August shocked and saddened us all.

I had know ESTES KEFAUVER just the few short years since I came to the Senate in 1959. We served together on the Judiciary Committee. But I soon discovered one did not need to know ESTES KEFAUVER long to learn and appreciate his outstanding traits.

His rugged and sturdy visage was matched by his rugged and sturdy individualism.

He was impelled by a crusading spirit to fight for his beliefs, his credo, his program.

He never dodged controversy. He seemed to thrive on it.

He was tenacious, moving with a dogged persistence, which was at once the admiration and inspiration of his supporters and the despair of his opponents. He was indeed a worthy adversary.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a hard worker. He never shirked his duty as he saw it, and many times during a session of Congress he was in the forefront fighting for a cause dear to his heart.

ESTES KEFAUVER was able to strike a kinship with the man in the street. He championed the underdog, the oppressed, those in the minority. This in no small part explains his wide support among the people of Tennessee, who elected him and reelected him to Congress beginning in 1939. It explains in no small part why he won the vice presidential nomination of his party in 1956.

Yet, despite his great party loyalty, he retained his right to be independent when he differed with his party. For this, he won wide acclaim.

It is a pity such a man was stricken in the very prime of his life.

So we say our last "aloha" to him, a dedicated American and fine public servant.

My wife Ellyn and I appreciate the great sense of loss his family must feel and we extend to Mrs. Kefauver and their children our heartfelt condolences in their bereavement.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL].

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, over our years of service together in the Senate, I came to know ESTES KEFAUVER as a friend. I respected his deep faith in the people and his political courage to speak out against wrong no matter where it occurred, no matter in which administration it occurred. In his devotion to duty and in his unceasing exertions as a legislator, he kept the public trust which the people of his own State successively and continuously recognized when they sent him first to the House of Representatives and then to the Senate. Later, across this great land, ESTES KEFAUVER, in various campaigns for national office, utilized a unique symbol of the Tennessee frontier—the coonskin cap—which so fittingly linked ESTES with the hopes, aspirations, courage, and progressivism of people in all walks of life.

Lawyer, public servant, scholar—honored to be elected vice president of the American Political Science Association—and friend of countless students, ESTES KEFAUVER, in his first years in Washington, coauthored a readable and noteworthy book entitled a "Twentieth Century Congress."

In the midst of the Second World War, he fought as a Member of the House for a resolution to permit Cabinet officers to come before the full body on a regular basis and submit to questioning on the activities of their departments. At an early date, he demonstrated that not only should Congress be responsive to the people but that the Executive should also be responsive, or at any rate, respond to Congress. He never lived to see adopted this or many of the other reforms he proposed in his desire to make Congress responsive to the needs of the people; perhaps, most of us will never live to see that day. But if that day should ever come, it will be due to the diligence and the faith of men like ESTES KEFAUVER.

I was honored repeatedly over the years to coauthor with him and others in both parties a constitutional amendment to revise the long-archaic electoral college system so that it might reflect the will of the people on a proportional

basis. Someday, Mr. President, that too shall come to pass and much credit will be due to the long hours and untiring efforts of the late Senator from Tennessee. Through years of public hearings he aroused the informed opinion of our Nation, those in the universities, those in journalism, those in public life—to the need for this change so that no longer would the will of our citizens be frustrated by the election of a President who had not received the support of a majority of the people: an event which has occurred more than once in the history of our Republic. He once described the outmoded electoral college as a loaded pistol pointed at our system of Government.

Its continued existence—

He said—

is a game of Russian roulette. Once its antiquated procedures trigger a loaded cylinder, it may be too late for the needed corrections.

ESTES KEFAUVER was colorful, he was a scholar, he was a fighter, but above all else he remained a kindly man. To his beloved wife, Nancy, and his family, Mrs. Kuchel and I extend our deepest condolences.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE].

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, often a thing that seems trifling at the time looms large in retrospect. I am thinking of this Senate Chamber on Thursday, August 8, as I came back here from the Moscow treaty signing mission.

In his last hour on this Senate floor—even as the shadow of tragedy was gathering around him—Senator ESTES KEFAUVER interrupted the major speech he was making—to welcome me back and to hope that I was feeling as well as I looked.

I am proud that the RECORD perpetuates his compliment and our friendly responses of that day. For the incident was in the character of ESTES KEFAUVER who always found time to be considerate, courteous, and kind however the tide of debate might surge upon the Senate floor.

A devoted, dedicated, untiring advocate of causes in which he believed, the tall son of Tennessee will be missed from the American scene. Few Americans were known so universally, so personally, so intimately. For ESTES KEFAUVER seems to have been at the front door of all America so that the people might know him at firsthand.

Honored so constantly by the people of his native State, there as few so honored by the people at large in an era when the country's best competed for the country's favor.

In whatever post fate held for him, the people were sure of a conscientious servant and we who served with him admired him for his conscience and loved him for his companionship.

Silent thousands gathered by the old family home around his flag covered casket for the last rites. Their very presence spoke an eloquent eulogy for our colleague who was everybody's neighbor.

Out of the sincerity of our hearts we speak our sympathy for his dear ones

and our deepest sorrow for a great American who has earned his rightful rest in the very bosom of the Tennessee he loved and served so well.

May he rest in peace.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was a truly great Senator and a very valued friend of mine.

From the time that both of us were elected to the Senate in 1948, we had something in common. That year smear charges were made against me—specifically that I voted the Marcantonio line. I answered those smear charges with a devastating refutation pointing out that on some of the votes my opposition sought to smear me on as voting the same way that Representative Marcantonio did, so did the then Republican National Committee chairman, Representative B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee.

The same charges were made against ESTES KEFAUVER in his campaign—and so I sent him my documented refutation of the smear charges. When we met at the opening of the 81st Congress and were first sworn in as Members of the U.S. Senate, ESTES KEFAUVER told me that he had taken what I had sent him and had used it to very effective advantage.

So while I grieve the passing of a true and deeply valued friend, I do find some solace in the memory that this great statesman of such tremendous courage found that I gave him effective ammunition to back up that courage at a most crucial time in his career.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK].

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, on two earlier occasions in the Senate, on August 26, 1963, and September 24, 1963, I have paid tribute to our late colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER.

Besides my own remarks, I called attention to an article that appeared in the New York Times August 12, 1963, entitled "The Observer" and to a resolution approved by the City Commissioners of North Dakota's largest city, Fargo.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks, the article and the resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the little people of America lost their foremost Washington lobbyist last month when ESTES KEFAUVER died.

The voice of the organized interests comes through clear and strong to Congress. The collective voice of the little people of the Nation is muffled and diffused. Representing them can be a lonely, frustrating task.

That was the role ESTES KEFAUVER undertook, tirelessly and valiantly. And the little people knew and understood that he was their advocate. The people of my State of North Dakota certainly did, because I witnessed their warm response to the man.

In the truest sense, ESTES KEFAUVER was a U.S. Senator. His constituency was not confined to Tennessee. It included the entire Nation.

ESTES KEFAUVER always was concerned about the underdog. As a southern Senator, it required no small amount of courage for him to support civil rights legislation.

He bothered to worry about the consumer—about his drug bills and his utility bills. In this latter endeavor he had a strong ally in my illustrious predecessor from North Dakota, Senator William Langer. Together they waged the successful battle to kill the Dixon-Yates contract, which would have undercut the public power yardstick in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

ESTES KEFAUVER took on organized crime. And he was unrelenting in his campaign against the evils of economic concentration and monopoly.

I am proud to have been a member of the small band of Senators ESTES KEFAUVER led last summer in the battle against turning over the communications satellite system to a private corporation.

He went down fighting on this issue, for he was struck by his fatal heart attack on the Senate floor while seeking an amendment to the NASA authorization bill to require reimbursement to taxpayers for research and development which will benefit the private communications satellite corporation.

On the communications satellite question, ESTES KEFAUVER was on the losing side, but I have every confidence that the wisdom and rightness of his position will be fully appreciated in the years to come.

As the stalwart champion of the little people, ESTES KEFAUVER sustained many disappointments and defeats, but having waged the good fight, he accepted them with grace.

The likes of ESTES KEFAUVER will not be seen in the U.S. Senate for a long time. He was a man of heroic dimensions, and it was a privilege to have served in the Senate with him.

OBSERVER

WASHINGTON, August 11.—He was an egghead masquerading as a yokel and what he wanted was the Presidency. For 6 years, with little more than a coonskin cap and the stamina of a drayhorse, he kept the most skillful politicians of the Democratic Party in a nightmare.

Up and down the American folkways he plodded with his huge right hand dangling limp before him, ready for deposit in the claw of anyone who crossed his path. He would hand them the hand and look through them and murmur, "Ah'm ESTES KEFAUVER and Ah'm runnin' for President. Will you he'p me?"

From Harry Truman in the White House down through the bull-roast-and-clambake crowd, the party professionals despised him. He was a maverick.

END OF A MAVERICK

"Always running for President," his colleagues in the Senate said with an inflection that meant, "he doesn't belong." The southerners viewed him as a traitor to the cause, a southerner seduced by ambition into espousal of civil rights and other un-southern flapdoodle. His TV investigation of the mobs, which had publicized certain ugly facts about the relationship of dirty money and urban politics, had won him the lasting hatred of the big-machine politicians.

Campaigning across the country on a chain of outstretched hands, KEFAUVER found the opposition of the professionals a boon of sorts. He could say with Liberace, "Nobody loves me but the people." And so, it seemed, the people did. But conventions are purely professional institutions and both times—in 1952 and 1956—the professionals had their revenge.

In 1956 he managed to win the sop of the vice-presidential nomination, and the professionals assigned him to the obscurity of campaigning in the deep-corn country.

The campaign was a model of disorganization. He fell hours behind schedule, kept audiences waiting until midnight until finally, out of the storm, groggy with fatigue, that distant dreamy look on his face, he

would stumble into the hall to be greeted by his dismayed local agent.

"What kind of audience you got here?" he would ask as he moved in his stately stiff walk down the aisle, giving them the hand-flapping motion that passed for a wave. "Indians," his adviser told him one night. "What's their problem?" KEFAUVER asked. "Damn it, man. They're Indians. Isn't that enough?"

EGGHEAD IN COONSKIN

The irony of KEFAUVER was that the coonskin cap, by which the country at large knew him, was a fraud. It implied a log cabin rustic bred to the cracker barrel circle, but it concealed one of the authentic eggheads of American politics. Behind the homespun facade was an upper-middle-class family background, a university education, a law degree from Yale, marriage to a moneyed Scottish beauty, and a quality of introspection so deep that he was most enigmatic to those who knew him best.

In the Dixon-Yates affair he was a match for the canniest minds of Wall Street in the intricacies of high finance. In private conversation he was given to a mordant, ironic humor far deadlier to the politician than Adlai Stevenson's good-humored wit, which was said to have offended the voters.

None of this showed on the public facade. To the country he remained the mountaineer in coonskin, exuding the smell of the old hills. Subconsciously or by design, he exploited the Lincolnesque in his figure and towered among his "little people" as a symbol of all those virtues associated in the national memory with log cabin roots.

"Will you help me?" went the pitch. "I grew up in a little, small town, and I have the same ambitions, the same aspirations that most of you have."

INNATELY THE BACKWOODSMAN

And yet, if the facade was all wrong, there was a germ of essential truth in the coonskin, for he had the backwoodsman's innate distrust of big business and the "interests" and an admirable zest for stepping on rich, fat toes.

Those who trailed him on his quest for the Presidency will remember him for a time to come, standing on the old-fashioned bandstands in courthouse squares murmuring, "You'll help me, won't you?" And, "If you can't give me your votes, remember me at least in your prayers."

RUSSELL BAKER.

DEATH OF SENATOR KEFAUVER—RESOLUTION

President Lashkowitz offered the following resolution and moved its adoption:

"Be it resolved by the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo:

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, distinguished senior U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, has passed on to his eternal rest, unexpectedly shocking and saddening the entire Nation and freemen everywhere; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during his lifetime, distinguished himself as the foremost fighter for good clean government and was renowned as a fighter for the rights of the individual human being without regard to race, color, or creed; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER waged a courageous lifelong battle against injustice and human suffering and fought continually for a better society for all mankind; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during the course of his distinguished career visited the city of Fargo, N. Dak., on many occasions and had earned the admiration, respect, and friendship of many citizens of our city including Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, who in 1952 earnestly fought to advance Senator KEFAUVER to the Presidency of the United States and received the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER at a historic gathering in the Red

River Valley near Buxton, N. Dak., at which nearly 30,000 people were in attendance, at which time Senator KEFAUVER convinced the people of this area of his knowledge and understanding of our problems and of his deep interest and concern for the well-being of this area; and

"Whereas in the year 1957, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER earnestly and devotedly took the floor of the U.S. Senate championing the cause of disaster-stricken Fargo in its recovery efforts following the tornado disaster of 1957; and

"Whereas Senator ESTES KEFAUVER at all times responded to the needs of those in distress wherever the call may emanate and served nobly, courageously, and at great sacrifice to his own health and personal comfort; and

"Whereas it is the considered feeling of the Fargo City Commission that ESTES KEFAUVER has earned himself a secure niche in the history of our country as a great American statesman who served his beloved Nation and the cause of mankind with rare devotion and was indeed the very embodiment of the essence of American patriotism and was rightfully recognized as a friend of all mankind in the continuing human struggle for a better society for each and every individual human being no matter where he lives: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Fargo City Commission does hereby express their deep and profound sorrow and sadness upon the untimely passing of that great American statesman, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, who had endeared himself to the people of this area and the city of Fargo by his many acts of friendship and loyalty as manifested throughout the years; and be it further

"Resolved, That this expression of sorrow upon the passing of our beloved friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, be spread upon the permanent minutes of the Fargo City Commission, and that certified copies be forwarded to the family of our dear friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, and that copies be furnished to the presiding officer of the U.S. Senate, the congressional delegation of the State of North Dakota for introduction into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and also to the Governor of the State of Tennessee and the two U.S. Senators from the State of Tennessee, with the request that this resolution be called to the attention of the Tennessee Legislature and the press, radio, and television of the State of Tennessee."

Second by McCannel. On the vote being taken on the question of the adoption of the resolution Commissioners Markey, Oakey, Lashkowitz and McCannel all voted aye.

Absent and not voting: Commissioner Hagen.

The acting vice president declared the resolution to have been duly passed and adopted.

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,

Mayor and President, Board of City Commissioners, Fargo, N. Dak.

Attest:

M. C. FREMSTAD,
Deputy City Auditor.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON].

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely death of Senator KEFAUVER was a loss to not only the State of Tennessee but also to the Nation.

My first association with ESTES was as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives where he served five sessions. He preceded me to the U.S. Senate but here we had the opportunity to renew our association and I again had the pleasure of serving with him.

Senator KEFAUVER had great courage in supporting many programs that might not have been immediately popular but were in the best interest of our Nation's future. He was a man of visions with a great heart of compassion for the underprivileged, whether in this Nation or in other countries on the globe.

He was the first candidate for the U.S. Senate to endorse the program of the Atlantic Union. In Senator KEFAUVER, the Atlantic Unionists agree they had their strongest and most active leader. He and I had many discussions in regard to the program of this international organization in its effort to promote world peace.

Clarence Streit, president of the International Movement for Atlantic Union, of whose honorary council Senator KEFAUVER was a member, says of him:

Since 1948 I have been on close terms with Senator KEFAUVER. I must testify that he has never wavered on this issue and has proved time and again that he put the interests of the Atlantic Union Convention proposals above what others thought were his own political or personal interests. He stood his ground when attacked because of it, in both his campaigns for the presidential nomination, and in all his campaigns for his Senate seat.

I have been in an unusually good position during the past 15 years to form a good judgment about Senator KEFAUVER. He impressed me favorably from the start, and he has grown and grown and grown in my esteem, particularly in qualities which I rate high. These include moral courage, integrity, stick-to-it-iveness, good political judgment, sangfroid, far-reaching vision combined with a down-to-earth sense of the practical and a genuine, warmhearted interest and respect for people, individually and collectively. Practically all the articles about him that I have seen in the mass magazines and bit newspapers have shown only superficial knowledge and perception, and have badly underestimated him. His stature, I have no doubt whatever, will grow with time.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT].

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the great men Tennessee gives to the Nation have an especial quality about them. They have honesty and straight courage, simplicity, and devotion to the people. Tennessee has given us Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, Cordell Hull, and now we are met to pay tribute to another great Tennessean, ESTES KEFAUVER.

The death of this great Senator from Tennessee was, of course, a personal loss to me as it was to every other man in the Senate. More than that, it was, however, in a very real sense a personal loss for the people of America. No man in modern times has known more Americans across the length and breadth of the country than has ESTES KEFAUVER; no man has been more beloved by them than was he.

I was in Indiana the weekend of his death and many, many strangers expressed to me their sorrow and personal loss at the sad news. It was, Mr. President, most impressive.

The people loved him because they sensed, they knew that his life and his career were dedicated to their interests. He fought a good fight for the people. In the tradition of Jackson and Johnson he

represented them all. Not the wealthy, the powerful, the special interest groups, the minorities or the coalitions, he represented the people.

The record of his 24 years' service in the Congress stands as a greater memorial to the man than anything we can say here. His work on improving legislative processes was important. So, too, were his well-known investigations into national crime, juvenile delinquency, Dixon-Yates, steel pricing, insurance regulation. Perhaps his most lasting and significant work is that which led to congressional approval of the Kefauver drug bill only last year. Looking back it seems unthinkable that there should be opposition to a proposal requiring adequate testing of experimental drugs in the laboratory and on experimental animals before allowing them to be used on human patients. There was opposition, however, and it was only because of the dogged and relentless work of the late Senator from Tennessee that the bill became law. It was his work.

It will be a long time before we again have such a man as ESTES KEFAUVER in the Senate.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG].

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the death of our beloved colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, removed from the Senate one of its most colorful and distinguished Members. ESTES had many truly remarkable qualities. Among them was his devotion to the cause of good government. He spent much of his lifetime fighting corruption and racketeering in and out of Government. He was one of the most relentless antagonists of monopolistic practices in industry. The Senate committee dealing with monopolies, which he headed, established a nationwide reputation.

ESTES KEFAUVER will go down in history as one of the more able and hard-working Members of the Senate. Few, if any, Senators ever won as many friends throughout the United States as he.

In my own State of North Dakota he had a very large and devoted following. I know of no one who ever came to our State who was so well received. One of the nicest tributes that has come to my attention was given to our late colleague by the city of Fargo. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted as a part of my remarks a resolution adopted by the Fargo City Commission and a letter from Fargo's very distinguished mayor, Herschel Lashkowitz.

Mr. President, I join with other Senators today in their expression of sympathy to his wife, Nancy, and all of his wonderful family.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF FARGO, N. DAK.,
September 16, 1963.

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: I enclose herein a resolution which was prepared by myself and was adopted by the Fargo City Commission

expressing our heartfelt sympathy on the untimely passing of that great America, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER.

We here in Fargo, N. Dak., felt particularly close to Senator KEFAUVER because of his many visits over the years in which he established strong and enduring friendships. We also recall with deep appreciation the efforts that he exerted in behalf of our city in 1957 when our community was stricken with the great tornado disaster that year.

Senator KEFAUVER has left an indelible mark upon those who were privileged to know him. American history will record him as one of the genuine humanitarians of our time, a man who placed principle above political expediency in all of his public actions.

I sincerely hope that the enclosed certified copy of the resolution adopted by the Fargo City Commission will be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD together with this letter so that Americans everywhere can be reminded of the highest esteem and affection in which ESTES KEFAUVER was held by the people of the city of Fargo, N. Dak.

Sincerely yours,

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor.

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF CITY COMMISSIONERS, FARGO, N. DAK., AUGUST 20, 1963

President Lashkowitz offered the following resolution and moved its adoption:

"Be it resolved by the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo:

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, distinguished senior U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, has passed on to his eternal rest unexpectedly shocking and saddening the entire Nation and freemen everywhere; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during his lifetime, distinguished himself as the foremost fighter for good clean government and was renowned as a fighter for the rights of the individual human being without regard to race, color, or creed; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER waged a courageous lifelong battle against injustice and human suffering and fought continually for a better society for all mankind; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during the course of his distinguished career, visited the city of Fargo, N. Dak., on many occasions and had earned the admiration, respect, and friendship of many citizens of our city, including Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, who in 1952 earnestly fought to advance Senator KEFAUVER to the Presidency of the United States and received the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER at an historic gathering in the Red River Valley near Buxton, N. Dak., at which nearly 30,000 people were in attendance, at which time Senator KEFAUVER convinced the people of this area of his knowledge and understanding of our problems and of his deep interest and concern for the well-being of this area; and

"Whereas, in the year 1957, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER earnestly and devotedly took the floor of the U.S. Senate championing the cause of disaster-stricken Fargo and its recovery efforts following the tornado disaster of 1957; and

"Whereas Senator ESTES KEFAUVER at all times responded to the needs of those in distress wherever the call may emanate and served nobly, courageously, and at great sacrifice to his own health and personal comfort; and

"Whereas it is the considered feeling of the Fargo City Commission that ESTES KEFAUVER has earned himself a secure niche in the history of our country as a great American statesman who served his beloved Nation and the cause of mankind with rare devotion and was indeed the very embodiment of the essence of American patriotism and was rightfully recognized as a friend of all

mankind in the continuing human struggle for a better society for each and every individual human being no matter where he lives; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Fargo City Commission does hereby express their deep and profound sorrow and sadness upon the untimely passing of that great American statesman, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, who had endeared himself to the people of this area and the city of Fargo by his many acts of friendship and loyalty as manifested throughout the years; and be it further

"Resolved, That this expression of sorrow upon the passing of our beloved friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, be spread upon the permanent minutes of the Fargo City Commission and that certified copies be forwarded to the family of our dear friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, and that copies be furnished to the presiding officer of the U.S. Senate, the congressional delegation of the State of North Dakota for introduction into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and also to the Governor of the State of Tennessee and to the two U.S. Senators from the State of Tennessee, with the request that this resolution be called to the attention of the Tennessee Legislature and the press, radio, and television of the State of Tennessee."

Second by McCannel. On the vote being taken on the question of the adoption of the resolution, Commissioners Markey, Oakey, Lashkowitz, and McCannel all voted "aye."

Absent and not voting: Commissioner Hagen.

The acting vice president declared the resolution to have been duly passed and adopted.

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor and President, Board of City Commissioners, Fargo, N. Dak.

Attest:

M. C. FREMSTAD,
Deputy City Auditor.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG].

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, we Missourians knew ESTES KEFAUVER as both a good neighbor and as a dear friend.

Throughout the State he was held in the very highest regard—a reputation that he earned from a never-yielding dedication to service to his fellow man, always in keeping with the cardinal truth of man's dignity and worth.

It was my good fortune to know ESTES KEFAUVER for many years. But only after my entry into the Senate, and the privilege and honor of associating closely with him as a colleague, did I fully realize what a fearless and dedicated public servant this tall and soft-spoken man truly was. Always his own man, his decision to fight for a principle was always determined by merit—not popularity, and once convinced of a principle he would not be dissuaded or discouraged.

As a man, a father, and a public servant, ESTES KEFAUVER was the personification of honor, devotion, dignity, and selfless charity. His was a never-ending struggle to protect the individual American, and to fight his causes without pause or regard for any measure of personal danger or political reprisals they might entail.

Men possessing the qualities of ESTES KEFAUVER are rare indeed, and I know that each of us is grateful for having had him as a colleague, and above all, as a loyal friend. The big Tennessean and his constant crusade for his fellow citizens are a part of the heritage of the U.S.

Senate, our American Government, and the body of mankind—but his example will surely be an inspirational guide to generations of the future long after the events of his generation are ancient history.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY].

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER will be missed by millions of Americans as well as by his colleagues here in the Senate. It was not his physical stature alone, or his splendid talent as a legislator that enabled him to achieve such lofty recognition.

The reason is more attributable to a combination of poise, agility, and altruistic sincerity in dealing with people and in working for a cause. And as Robert Frost wrote in "Birches":

He learned all there was
To learn about not launching out too soon
And so not carrying the tree away
Clear to the ground. He always kept his
poise

To the top branches, climbing carefully
With the same pains you use to fill a cup
Up to the brim, and even above the brim.
Then he flung outward, feet first, with a
swish,

Kicking his way down through the air to
the ground.

Yes, ESTES was a "swinger of birches"; for when an issue demanded, he would explore it from its earthy embodiment through its esoteric abstractions to rend full round the spectrum of considerations.

Indeed, this form was evident as ESTES KEFAUVER crusaded against crime in the United States, and devoted such effort to the problems of juvenile delinquency. It is only coincidental that it was his work in these areas that catapulted him within sight of the White House, for the Senator had that innate quality of loving and being loved by mankind.

This almost Lincolnesque Senator from Tennessee endeared himself to masses of people to an extent equaled by perhaps only a few of his contemporaries. It often seemed to me as I observed ESTES KEFAUVER, that the art of knowing people was part of his nature. Of course, that art is indispensable to a politician, but with him it was the natural thing.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN].

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of sadness and profound loss to all of us that we join together today in paying tribute to the late Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER.

The news of Senator KEFAUVER's death came with a great shock to the Senate, to the Congress, and to the Nation; and when the news came, we knew that we had lost one of this Nation's greatest patriots.

Senator KEFAUVER served his State and his Nation with unusual distinction for many years and in the years that I had the pleasure of knowing him I came to admire him greatly and respect his outstanding abilities.

He was a quiet man, an humble man, and a man who dedicated his life to the principles that have made this Nation what it is today.

ESTES KEFAUVER was always a down-to-earth man, and even though he held the high position he did and the wide respect of leaders throughout the world, he always remained close to the people of Tennessee and to the surroundings from which he came.

We will all miss ESTES KEFAUVER and the outstanding work he did in many areas of public interest; but just as important, we will miss his easy manner, his kindly personality, and his gentle nature.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL].

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I want to add my word of appreciation for a courageous Senator, ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, who has departed this life. He died as he lived—in the service of his State and his Nation. He died in the position of responsibility which he loved.

As one of his colleagues in the body, I happened to know that when he was his party's nominee for the second highest position in the Nation, that of Vice President, his chief concern was the prospect of his having to give up his senatorship, had his party prevailed in the general election. His untiring work in the Senate—and especially as chairman of important investigating committees—showed his love for his position.

He made his mark in the world—and ruthless racketeers who he so ably exposed in committee hearings will not soon forget his thoroughness. His accomplishments in the performance of his duties as a Senator benefited his country—and his country owes him much.

In these brief remarks, however, I wish to speak in a more personal light. I knew ESTES KEFAUVER as a kind, thoughtful individual, a human being of warmth, a quality sometimes lost sight of because of his vigorous convictions and his willingness to fight for what he thought was right.

I admired ESTES KEFAUVER for his ability, his courage, and his honesty.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN].

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, although I know that I cannot add to the eloquent and moving tributes that have already been paid to our late departed colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, I do want to express my deep sorrow and regret at his passing.

Senator KEFAUVER and I served and worked together on the Appropriations Committee and the Judiciary Committee. Serving on committees with a fellow Senator gives one an opportunity to more accurately judge his personal qualities, his statesmanship capacity, and his work. In the years in which I worked with Senator KEFAUVER, I learned that he always approached his duties with sincere dedication and to serve the welfare of our country according to his concepts of its best interest and security.

It was my privilege to be appointed as a member of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee at the beginning of the current session of Congress. Senator KEFAUVER had a special interest in the work

of this subcommittee, and my membership on the subcommittee enabled me to observe more closely his work as chairman. Senator KEFAUVER continued to discharge his duties as chairman of this subcommittee with persistence and dedication in spite of the fact that his health was beginning to fail him. Many weaker and less resolute men would have given up under such circumstances, but Senator KEFAUVER fought on unwaiveringly with fortitude, strength, and devotion to duty.

Although Senator KEFAUVER and I disagreed on some of the important and basic questions which came before the Senate through the years, we shared a deep concern in regard to the growth of organized crime. He was one of the pioneers in our efforts to combat this menacing evil and deserves our lasting gratitude for his efforts.

I always respected him because he was true to his own convictions, he was determined in his efforts on behalf of the causes in which he believed, and he was a man who had the courage to stand alone if this became necessary to do so. He dealt with issues rather than personalities. While he fought hard for the things in which he believed, he was gracious and kindly to his adversaries, whether he won or lost. Mrs. McClellan and I express our deepest grief and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the family.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, may the RECORD show that I, too, wish to pay my respects to the memory of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER from the State of Tennessee.

Senator KEFAUVER's official actions will forever be recorded in the proceedings of the House of Representatives and the Senate. It is not my purpose at this time to attempt to enumerate them or discuss them.

I do want to stress the friendliness displayed by ESTES KEFAUVER. He liked people. He was polite and courteous. He was sincere in his dealings with all because he was interested in the welfare of those about him. All of my dealings with Senator KEFAUVER were most pleasant.

I wish to extend to Mrs. Kefauver and to her children and all the other friends and relatives of the late Senator, my most sincere sympathy.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I was not privileged to serve for long with Senator KEFAUVER in the U.S. Senate, but I am sure that I feel his loss as deeply as any of his veteran colleagues here.

My association with Senator KEFAUVER, and my admiration for his position in public affairs, goes back many years. In 1952, I was chairman of the KEFAUVER-for-President delegation in Wisconsin, and in a free and open presidential primary, the people of Wisconsin elected me as one of their delegates pledged to Senator KEFAUVER at the Democratic National Convention. Senator KEFAUVER swept the Wisconsin presidential primary that year, and again in 1956, and it was a great privilege for me to join with

my fellow Wisconsin delegates in working for his nomination to the Nation's highest office.

The affection which the voters of Wisconsin showed for this man from Tennessee in 1952 and again in 1956 is understandable. He had a simple honesty about him which projected itself into the homes of our State. He was a rugged individualist, and this quality is greatly admired in Wisconsin. He took his stand on the side of the public interest, whether he was battling organized crime, monopoly power, or price fixing, and the Wisconsin people appreciate this kind of a fight.

They admired it in the late Senator Robert M. La Follette and in his son who carried on a similar tradition. And they saw this same dedication to what we called "the Wisconsin idea"—the notion that government is to serve the people—in ESTES KEFAUVER.

Senator KEFAUVER's Wisconsin friends were especially impressed when he stood up for civil rights—at a time when it might have seemed far easier for him to stand silent. And certainly the swift rush of history since that time has proved how right he was.

In the all too brief time we worked together here in the Senate, I found his courage and his tenacity inspiring. I am pleased that there are Senators who will continue the Kefauver tradition.

And there are hundreds of others, in Tennessee and in Wisconsin and in all the corners of the land, who watched Senator KEFAUVER rise in public esteem and who are committed to the same goals that he fought to advance.

His passing is a great personal loss to us, but more than that, it shifts to new shoulders the heavy burden of defending the public interest in a world where this interest can too often be forgotten.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

Though we did not always see eye to eye on the various issues, no one could ever question the glistening honor and purest integrity of ESTES KEFAUVER. I was proud to call him "friend" along with thousands of others. He had the admiration, esteem, and respect of all of his colleagues in the Senate. He was truly a man of great courage and conviction, a dedicated public servant sincerely and honestly representing the views of his constituents. His devotion to duty to his State and Nation was unsurpassed. This illustrious son of Tennessee has unquestionably made a great contribution to our American heritage.

By his untimely passing, the people of Tennessee, the State of Tennessee, the U.S. Senate, and the Nation have lost the services of a truly great American.

At this time, I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and family because I know that their personal loss is a great one, indeed. They have the comfort of knowing that he was a good husband, a good father, and a dedicated public servant who contributed much to America, and with devotion and

fidelity he carried out fully the duties of the high office of public trust which he occupied.

ESTES KEFAUVER had one of the most genial and affable dispositions ever possessed by a human being. He was loyal not only to his convictions—he was loyal to his friends and his country.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our beloved friend and colleague.

The sudden and tragic death of ESTES KEFAUVER came as a personal loss to millions of people who had never met this man, but who regarded him as a friend.

ESTES KEFAUVER was the kind of man who has always won the hearts of the people. There was something of Jackson and Lincoln in him. He was a man of humble beginnings who won great victories, suffered heartbreaking defeats, but who never lost the warmth, the friendliness, and the sincerity which characterized his life.

Here, truly, was one who could walk with kings yet not lose the common touch.

He was a legendary figure and like most men who make a mighty impact on the public consciousness, he had his familiar trademarks—the friendly handshake, the quiet voice, the humble manner.

But there was much more to ESTES KEFAUVER than the public image. He was honest and he was courageous. He fought great battles in behalf of the American people with an unconquerable persistence that will be remembered when the coonskin cap and the craggy smile are forgotten.

He saw the evil of organized crime and, almost single-handedly, made the public conscious of the ugly network of entrenched crime which operates on a national basis. He saw the growing danger of juvenile delinquency and he set in motion a series of investigations and remedial programs which are now beginning to bear fruit.

He saw the moral threat which giant monopolies pose for our free, competitive system and he had the courage to investigate these great concentrations of financial power and to show how some of them were conspiring to fix prices and to strangle competition.

Many of you will remember Senator KEFAUVER's forthright campaigns for the presidential nomination. I recall the rollcall at the 1952 convention when the spokesman for one of the delegations being polled declared:

We cast our votes for ESTES KEFAUVER, the man who takes orders from no one.

This could well serve as his epitaph. In behalf of his concept of the public interest, he fought for the welfare of the American people against the political bosses, the crime bosses, and the big money bosses—and through all these titanic struggles, ESTES KEFAUVER took orders from no one but his conscience.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a very great man; so kind that he would take to heart the problems of the most humble and ob-

scure citizens; so generous that he had time for everyone's troubles but his own; so strong that he would do daily battle with the most powerful interests in the land; so gentle that he always shunned the harsh word, no matter how unbearable the provocation.

He was a friendly giant who poured out his great strength in behalf of the sick, the aged, and the weak.

He wanted everyone to have a fair chance in the race of life, and to his last hour he persevered in this noble endeavor.

He died in poverty.

Like a giant tree that has come crashing down to earth, his passing leaves a great void that will never be filled.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING].

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, with the passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who was my warm and devoted friend, the Nation has lost an able statesman and a courageous legislator. His coonskin hat was a symbol of his dedication to the traditions and heritage of our precious land. ESTES KEFAUVER was soft-spoken, but he was a leader and a champion of many worthy causes. He had foresight, and integrity, and the courage of his convictions whether his cause was popular or unpopular at the particular moment.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be remembered in history because of the causes to which he dedicated his life. To ESTES, no job was too large or too small, too important or too menial for him to tackle. His interest was the public interest, as he saw it, whether he was exposing corruption or pleading for better understanding among the nations of the free world.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be sorely missed by all who knew and admired him. The Senate, indeed the Nation, is poorer for his passing. His death has left a void in each of our hearts that only time can try to fill.

Today, as we offer a sincere remembrance to our departed colleague, we are saddened by his passing. But let us try to look beyond our own grief and be grateful for the inspiration we have all received from ESTES KEFAUVER's wonderful fighting spirit, his powerful convictions, his integrity, and—perhaps above all else—his uniquely human personality.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF].

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, a great Senator from a border State who unsuccessfully sought the Presidency on three occasions said, "I know no South, no North, no East, no West to which I owe my allegiance." More than a century after Clay's remark, the same and more can well be said of ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a citizen of the world, and he was a citizen of Lewistown, Kalispell, Great Falls, Sidney, and Butte, Mont. Those towns are a long way from Tennessee. But the persons who live in those and other Montana communities share with us a deep personal loss in the death of Senator KEFAUVER, a man they had met, to whom they had talked, a man they respected and admired. The only time Montanans voted in a presidential pri-

mary they voted, overwhelmingly, for ESTES KEFAUVER.

I first met Senator KEFAUVER in those days when he was campaigning for President. I was impressed by his forthrightness, his humility, his understanding of the needs of the rank and file. Of course, I had been impressed and somewhat awed by the accomplishments of the committee he headed investigating crime.

Senator KEFAUVER was scheduled into Kalispell for a speech when he was informed in Missoula that the pilot of his chartered plane could not get the plane into Kalispell because of weather conditions. Unhesitatingly he set off in a smaller chartered plane with a handful of reporters on a trip that has become a historical saga of one of the roughest and most perilous flights that was ever undertaken.

This points up the outstanding feature of Senator KEFAUVER—his courage. He had physical and moral courage alike. Whether it was a fight to Kalispell, a struggle against crime, or a fight on behalf of the Atlantic Union, he never weighed the odds, he plunged into the struggle on the side he believed to be the right one and frequently wrested victory from almost certain defeat.

Since I came to Congress it has been my good fortune to know ESTES KEFAUVER better. My admiration and respect for his ability, his integrity, his courage, his patience and understanding has grown with closer acquaintance. Millions of Americans all over our great Nation share our grief today and speak through us their gratitude for the efforts and accomplishments of the tall Senator from Tennessee who fought so many battles in their behalf.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS].

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, in the death of ESTES KEFAUVER, I lost not only a good friend, but a colleague whose political philosophy was oftentimes companion to my own.

Senator KEFAUVER and I frequently were comembers of a Senate group working for a common objective, and often it was an objective not supported by the majority. Defeat almost could be foretold.

Yet no matter how overwhelming this defeat, or how discouraged he may have been momentarily, Senator KEFAUVER always seemed the first to begin picking up the pieces, and to begin planning on another attack—another way to achieve the desired objective.

It was this resiliency—this ability to bounce back after defeat—which was one of ESTES KEFAUVER's greatest attributes. He combined with it tenacity and strength. Of ESTES it could truly be said, again and again—he has only begun to fight.

The many victories of his fighting spirit are reflected in numerous laws now on the books which make America a better place in which to live. He will probably be best remembered for the Cellar-Kefauver Anti-Merger Act, and the drug bill of 1962, which strengthened prescription drug protection, but other measures which he had a strong hand in getting through the Senate are legion.

His achievements will live in the history of our times.

ESTES KEFAUVER had ability, leadership, and great patriotism. He was completely fearless and completely dedicated. If he felt something was right, no power on earth could stop him. He was a true friend of the common man—of the average citizen—and his death was a real loss to rank-and-file America. It will be a long time before his shoes are filled.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS].

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I mourn the passing of our distinguished colleague, the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee.

Before his untimely death on August 10, 1963, he displayed an apparently endless capacity for hard work.

His kind disposition and humility set examples that all Members of the Senate admired. He was diligent and energetic; he was thorough and vigorous.

Although we did not always see the issues before the Senate alike, I admired his convictions, his courage, and the diligence with which he pursued the causes in which he believed.

We shall greatly miss our colleague.

We extend our heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE].

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, today we pay well-deserved tribute to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER, whose untimely death saddened us all.

The late U.S. Senator from Tennessee was a big man, not only in natural stature but also in the service he rendered the citizens of his State and the people of this Nation.

He moved about these Halls of Congress and across the length and breadth of this land with the slow but deliberate and determined speed of a man who knows where he is going and what he wants to do.

Here was a man who let nothing come between him and his devotion to duty and what he believed to be right. He was not to be deterred from his calling. Senator KEFAUVER had the tenacious courage of his convictions and for this he had the high admiration of his colleagues in this body and the respect of his countrymen.

A warm and friendly man who was always ready with a firm handshake and a wide smile, Senator KEFAUVER perhaps will best be remembered as a friend of the people and the champion of the common man.

It was said that he could turn his back on no man, regardless of how small or insignificant he may seem to others. Having risen from humble beginnings on a small farm near Madisonville, Tenn., to a seat in the House of Representatives and later to a position of nationwide renown in the U.S. Senate and Democratic Party, Senator KEFAUVER was himself a symbol of the sturdy stock of men and women who made this country great.

Senator KEFAUVER also won a respected place in history as the nemesis of hoodlums and racketeers whose organized crime cartels are a blight on this

country and shocking to the consciences of all law-abiding people.

In the almost 25 years that he served in the Congress—10 years in the House of Representatives and 15 years in the Senate—Senator KEFAUVER made many outstanding contributions to the continuing welfare of the United States, and we all are in his debt.

Up to the end, Senator KEFAUVER occupied an active and interested place in this Chamber. He was stricker while engaged in a debate on this floor and 2 days later, his heart was stilled.

The presence of this tall and lanky man from Tennessee will be sorely missed.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President—

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURBICK in the chair). The junior Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

MY ADMIRATION FOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, each of us joined here today has his own personal sense of loss on the passing of this great statesman.

ESTES KEFAUVER was an uncommon man. He doggedly pursued causes which sparked controversy and emotion. He set for himself goals which were difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. He had an abiding sense of political and economic righteousness which sometimes left him standing alone while others retired to safer ground. He took on adversaries of enormous strength and engaged in battles which many times were never won to his satisfaction.

He encountered bitterness, frustration, and vituperation, but through it all ESTES KEFAUVER was a great gentleman. He never lost his smile, his warmth, his respect for his adversary.

ESTES KEFAUVER also never lost his grip, his tenacious role as a congressional watchdog and an independent thinker. He was at all times a liberal, perhaps one of the last of the populists—a critic, a man of action, and one whose integrity could not ever be compromised.

His concern for the common man has become a national legend. His popular identification was manifest in the tremendous popular support he received in his campaigns for the presidential nomination. His constant support for the rights of labor, for the small businessman, for the consumer, for the farmer and for community needs earned him his popular regard.

He exposed the top brass of the criminal underworld. He fought against excessive economic concentration. He fought for competition. He took the lead in examining into the causes of juvenile delinquency. He inquired into the high prices of prescription drugs resulting in the passage of drug control legislation which bears his name. He risked his own political career in 1960 by opposing forced segregation of the races. He strongly favored and worked for the TVA, rural electrification, greater aid to education, improved veterans' benefits and services, greater social security and old-age health benefits. In the foreign field, he was chairman of the political committee of the NATO Parliamentary Conference and was a leader at the

recent Atlantic Congress. As with his domestic policy, he believed in a free, competitive economic union of Western nations as a strong protection against the encroaching monopoly of the Communist world.

ESTES KEFAUVER is a symbol to those who follow him in taking up the responsibilities of government. He teaches us all that it is necessary to have healthy doubts. He teaches us not to shun controversy. He teaches us to ask the big questions and reach our solutions on the basis of tough reasoning.

I did not share the long personal association with Mr. KEFAUVER which so many Members of this body enjoyed, as I only served with him here a few months. I regret that that period was so brief. But I did share the opportunity to admire, and I hope to benefit from, his example. I shared this opportunity with millions upon millions of Americans, and we are all better for it.

As a young man and as a freshman Senator, I was keenly aware of his place in the Senate, in the Democratic Party, and in the Nation. I held him in the highest esteem. I admired his courage and I admired his sense of purpose. I admired him even when I did not agree with him.

I believe we are better for the sacrifices he gave, willingly and unselfishly, to advance his liberal philosophy which embraced the basic rights of all free men. We have his example.

It is with humility that I pay him respect today.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER].

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all of us when we are newly come to the Senate, seek out those senior colleagues we most admire as teachers and counselors in the ways of this great body. And I had always counted myself uncommonly fortunate to have as a warm, generous, and inspiring teacher, ESTES KEFAUVER.

He taught us that compromise and accommodation need not be the legislator's invariable course—that defeat, even crushing defeat, was preferable to the dilution of basic principles.

He taught us to differentiate the well-rehearsed chorus of special pleaders from the inadequately amplified voice of the individual citizen.

He did not worship togetherness when he found that the pursuit of his ideals left him virtually alone; and he revealed that there can be magnificence in defeat as well as victory.

He taught us that the romance of America transcends the sectionalism, the empty forms of tradition and even party.

He taught us by his living example the meaning of courage in a 20th century democracy.

To those who opposed him, he offered reason, not rancor. To those who labored with him he extended inflexible loyalty.

Most important, he taught us that the fortunes of narrow, special interest groups will flourish and debase our society unless we act with uncommon courage and insight to challenge them. In this, as in all things, he himself embodied the wisdom of his teaching.

These lessons—more than his tangible legislative imprint, which was great—more than his striking political image, more than his historical rank among the great legislators of our time, are his legacy to his colleagues and to his country.

I think that few have better expressed the meaning of a close association with ESTES KEFAUVER than a young man, Victor Ferrall, who served him as counsel on the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee and who pays tribute to him in a forthcoming edition of the Yale Law Report.

I ask that excerpts from this article be printed following my remarks, together with a poem entitled "The Tennessean," by Kenneth W. Fitzgerald, editor of the *Naturpath*.

There being no objection, the excerpts and poem were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Yale Law Report, vol. 10, No. 1, fall 1963]

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER, 1927
(By Victor E. Ferrall, Jr.)

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER, 1927, a Member of Congress for nearly a quarter of a century, died on August 10, 1963. He was serving his third term as U.S. Senator from Tennessee.

Two days before his death, Senator KEFAUVER suffered a heart attack on the floor of the U.S. Senate. Leading the opposition to a \$50 million communications satellites research and development authorization for NASA, he was delivering the opening speech condemning what he considered a calculated giveaway of public funds to the private Communications Satellite Corp. He was commanding, to quote one of his colleagues, the same "little band of willful men" which had filibustered during the last Congress in an unsuccessful effort to block that corporation's creation.

When the attack struck, KEFAUVER paused and in a whispered aside asked a colleague to suggest the absence of a quorum, not asking for it himself so as to avoid losing the floor. When the quorum call was terminated and debate resumed, KEFAUVER, still in obvious discomfort, finished his speech. ESTES KEFAUVER fell with his boots on, protecting his right to the Senate floor. Thirty-six hours later, he was dead.

Russell Baker noted perceptively in the New York Times that there was about KEFAUVER "a quality of introspection so deep that he was most enigmatic to those who knew him best."¹ Not surprisingly, the extraordinarily popular and titillating activity of dissecting the plethora of coonskin caps, handshakes, unpopular causes, and political disappointments in order to discover the "real" or "essential" KEFAUVER has been continued by other writers, but it is not a profitable pursuit. One is all too likely to be wrong. The probability of penetrating the Kefauver enigma is little or not enhanced by proximity to the man. I shall, therefore, avoid the hypersubjective and consider only those facets of KEFAUVER which I could observe or learn about during the last 3 years.

Though he tried, KEFAUVER was never able to shake off the "crimebuster" label. This monolithic reputation may further have impaired his presidential aspirations, for to be President a man should be free from political overspecialization. To be President it is better to have no image at all than one too sharply defined.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, KEFAUVER con-

ducted hearings with restraint and fairness. The procedural polarity between his subcommittee and certain other investigating committees dramatized the dilemma confronting advocates of committee procedural reform. No meaningful legislative restriction is, today, placed on how congressional committees can investigate. The inquisitorial abuses of this absence of formal restraint flow from the true adage that a Senate committee chairman can do anything with unanimous consent and almost anything without it. Nowhere in Government is caprice more thoroughly conduct-determinative than in a congressional committee investigation.

KEFAUVER was a longtime proponent of reform. But, though he shared the deep-rooted American distrust of conscience as an adequate protection of the public interest, he accepted the Wilsonian investigatory function of Congress as fundamental. * * * He, himself, practiced personal restraint at hearings, giving witnesses and their counsel free rein, often to the point of tedium. He substituted tenacity for abuse of constitutional rights.

During the past 8 years—as in all periods of relative opulence—antitrust has been unpopular. Indeed, in an era of "people's capitalism," it may even be that the ability of industrial oligarchs to avoid effective competition is popularly admired.

Without KEFAUVER, antitrust and the preservation of competition would, today, be of far less concern to the public than it is. He kept it before the people with his insistence on the evils of administered prices. Though a confusing and uncertain notion at best, many citizens feel they understand administered prices. It conveys to them a vague notion that in markets where structurally oligopoly, production barriers to entry and excessive product differentiation are the rule, the fruits of competition to the consumer are something less than fully ripe. This is true and it was KEFAUVER's persistence which, in large measure, made the people see it.

Above all, KEFAUVER conceived the ultimate end of competition to be to serve the consumer. Consumers are not a body politic. His approach to competition and antitrust, therefore, enhanced the unpopularity of his position with his colleagues. Had he subscribed to the better lobbied point of view that competition primarily serves small business, his task would have been far easier.

If, as is commonly observed, KEFAUVER was excluded from the Senate Club, this must be attributed as much to his *modus operandi* as a Senator as to the Lucas incident. A good Senator plays a thoroughly institutionalized "game" with clearly defined rules. As a freshman he keeps out of mischief, does not make major floor speeches, and limits his energies to local matters. He may ask thoughtful, penetrating questions in his committee assignments, but he is retiring and definitely not a leader or spokesman of a particular position—even an approved position.

After a time—perhaps 2 years—he may tackle minor national issues. He is permitted, for example, to become an aspiring champion of heron conservation, antidetergent pollution, or minor agricultural reforms. He may also deliver an occasional speech on major foreign or domestic policy, so long as he does not actively lead legislative actions.

To a very large extent, he must establish himself as a subservient and responsive follower of the Senate's established Senate leaders (vis-a-vis its administration leaders) well into his second term. In the process, of course, he also demonstrates his ability to be reelected and, therefore, probable senatorial longevity.

The Senate's memory is elephantine. If the aspiring Senator stumbles at any point along this long road of restraint, redemption is unlikely. Failure to play the "game" virtually assures exclusion from the club. Lack of club membership radically reduces effectiveness as a lawmaker.

Playing the "game" for 10 or 15 years, however, takes its toll. Surely so much calculated docility drains at least some of the conviction and vigor any Senator brings to the Congress as a freshman. When the "game" is played out, he is better able to implement his beliefs, but has, perhaps, lost some of the inner impetus to do so. The—by international standards—exceptional harmony and tranquility of the Senate is, however, preserved. Whether the Nation is better served by a firebrand or a team player is debatable.

Clearly, though, KEFAUVER, had no doubts on this score. He entered the Senate with an explosion, immediately captured the ear of the Nation, and seldom lost it. * * * As a champion of causes more popular with the people than the Senate—of which there are a substantial number—KEFAUVER was often good for 10 more votes than any other Senator. But, this was seldom enough to win, particularly if KEFAUVER was actively opposed by a full-fledged club member.

In the last 2½ years, KEFAUVER's problems were further enhanced by his New Deal brand of liberalism. He was firmly rooted on the "Old Frontier." A Senator's success in dealing with the administration is by no means assured by his supporting its policies and legislation. Any administration (and I would be inclined to generalize this observation to cover almost all political groups) tends to better understand opposition, be more comfortable in the face of it, and be more willing to make concessions to gain its support, than it is willing to reward reliable followers. KEFAUVER's voting record from the administration's point of view was very good. But, had he been more cunning and a better trader in the way he cast his votes, he might well have received more administration support.

Politicians, living in a world of outstretched hands, are not comfortable with a person who helps them until they feel confident that they have identified his selfish motivation. Selfless support emanating from idealism rather than more pragmatic interests, make politicians nervous. KEFAUVER, though no exception to this rule, was himself guilty of obscuring his ends. Though he enjoyed enormous political autonomy in Tennessee, he had not become a patriarchal statesman or "taken the overview," remaining until his death actively political. He was clearly not running for President or the Supreme Court. Thus, "What is he up to now?" was the question which plagued the Senate each time KEFAUVER plunged into a new area of political unpopularity and danger.

It was his high political morality that compounded the Senate's discomfort with KEFAUVER. I suppose the ultimately politically moral man is the martyr. The martyr's credo—"No matter what you say or do, I will waver neither from the ends I seek nor the means which I have chosen"—defines the borderline between personal incorruptibility and political stalemate. Incorruptible dedication to both ends and means is philosophically attractive, but anathema to political action.

KEFAUVER sought and seriously considered the advice of a perfectly astonishing potpourri of corporation counsels and Capitol Hill policemen, laborers, and landowners. With respect to listening to advice, he was unalterably antifree competition. The highest bid always lost—the lowest often won.

¹ Aug. 12, 1963.

Whether this is good or bad from the long-run point of view of an effective legislature, I do not know. There can be no question, however, that KEFAUVER was unfailingly, unflinchingly honest.

As a politician, KEFAUVER genuinely led the people of his State. No one doubts that he did far more than merely mirror the popular positions in Tennessee.

Insofar as the people of Tennessee outstrip the South in liberality, it is, in large measure, because they were led by ESTES KEFAUVER. Together with Cordell Hull he helped make Tennessee, for example, one of the most internationally minded States in the South. Through his leadership, the State came to share his appreciation for the message of free competition. And, because he was a true leader, his popular mandate was overwhelming.

I suspect few Congressmen, in their innermost being, genuinely trust "the people." KEFAUVER did. "Let the people know the truth and they will do the right thing," was not an empty aphorism for him. His campaign to bring television into the Senate gallery was an act of faith.

The above exercise in objectivity notwithstanding, I will remember ESTES KEFAUVER with an outstretched hand, uncomfortably looking at a friend, suspecting he knew him too well to shake his hand—and probably had just shaken it, anyway. I will picture him in his cluttered office, simultaneously mastering a complicated nicety of antitrust law with incredible mental agility, trying to remember whether monopolization comes under section 1 or section 2 of the Sherman Act, and wondering if someone had sent the electric toaster he had had repaired back down to Aunt Charlotte in Madisonville. I will see him shuffling through an airport in his braces and shirt sleeves, carrying two briefcases, a bag of coats from the dry cleaners he forgot to drop off at home, three newspapers, a box of cookies old Miss Jones gave him to take to the children, and a paper cup filled with Heaven knows what. In my mind's ear, I will hear him laugh. He was the only man I ever met who laughed "ho, ho," exactly as it is written.

I would suppose that most great men are hard to know. Surely, however, few are so very hard not to love as ESTES KEFAUVER.

[From the Naturopath, September 1963]

THE TENNESSEAN

He stood, this man—
His brow brushing the misty aloofness of the stars—
He stood, alone and firm,
A man of metal and of heart—a man apart.
He stood high
And he stood strong in a lusty realm where
the resolute alone belong.
He stood—with courage and with faith—
Unshaken by the wanton kiss of joy, the bitter
lash of sorrow.
He stood tall—
This man whose world was big—
This man
Whose massive shoulders nudged the promise
of tomorrow!

—Kenneth W. Fitzgerald.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN].

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER played a role in the U.S. Senate and on the American political stage which was unique. His public career was a long and yet an all too brief record of devotion, courage, and vision. He was an unswerving champion of the public interest as against the claims of selfish special interests.

He looked out on the world with eyes of peace.

He loved the American people and they returned that love in countless villages, farms, and cities across the land.

His passing was especially mourned in my home State—South Dakota.

I always believed that he and his lovely wife, Nancy, also had a special feeling of warmth for South Dakota. He was the most popular national figure ever to campaign in our State. We shall sorely miss him.

May providence sustain his widow, Nancy, his children, and his many loved ones and friends.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was a vigorous battler for the values in which he believed and his untimely passing was a great shock and a great loss to the Senate and the Nation. I came into closest association with him in our work together as members of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, which he helped to found and to which he made invaluable contributions. He was the original sponsor of the Atlantic Union Resolution when he began his Senate career in 1949, and throughout his service here he was an effective leader in the movement toward a true Atlantic partnership. During this last year, he was in the process of combining his deep interest in economic concentration and antitrust with this long dedication to the Atlantic community by holding hearings on the subject of the developing antitrust law of the European Common Market. It was with great satisfaction that he and I joined together in perfecting aspects of the drug bill enacted in 1962, particularly in ending the use of experimental drugs upon patients without their consent, which had come to light in the thalidomide tragedy and which, hopefully, the Food and Drug Administration is now policing. We did not agree on all issues, but I always found ESTES a staunch and effective advocate, in the best and finest traditions of the U.S. Senate. He was a dear and genial friend and the Nation, as well as each of us as his warm friend, mourns his loss.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to join other Senators in paying tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER as our esteemed colleague in the U.S. Senate, as a former Member of the House of Representatives, as a citizen who made a great contribution to good government in his home State of Tennessee and in the United States, and as a man whose personality and friendly manner enriched the lives of all who knew and worked with him.

ESTES KEFAUVER came to be known and admired by millions of citizens for a wide variety of accomplishments. He has left a permanent record of contributions to the structure of government and to politics and to respect for the law.

I should like to single out one quality in particular which characterized the many investigations and political activities he undertook: that is his courage.

ESTES KEFAUVER was never impressed by the obstacles which existed nor was he deterred from a position which he thought right on the advice that this

was an unpopular cause or that it might be politically expedient to withdraw.

He did not hesitate to investigate crime and unsavory activities even when investigations showed links with supposedly respectable groups in society. He did not hesitate to investigate corporations and business relationships if he thought them in violation of the law. He spoke out for procedural reform in the Congress. He stood firm in defense of the interest of consumers and in defense of the civil rights of all citizens. He twice sought the nomination of his party for the Presidency, and he was honored by the Democratic Party as its nominee for the vice presidency in 1956.

He had understanding of the needs of people and sympathy for their problems. He served and loved his country, but he also saw the needs of people in other nations and the benefits which could come to them and to us through a more active participation by the United States in international affairs.

He spoke out for an Atlantic Union in 1949 and he continued his efforts for a federation of freedom-loving peoples. There has been no general acceptance of the idea of an Atlantic Union, but his efforts have had an effect by widening the vision of Congress and the people. Because ESTES KEFAUVER spoke and worked for an advanced form of international community, the entire question of international relations and international commitments has been studied more broadly and more carefully.

I join with other Senators and with the many friends of ESTES KEFAUVER in expressing deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and their children.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF].

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, today we pay homage to a great American. ESTES KEFAUVER is gone from our midst, yet he lives on through the good works of a lifetime of struggle in behalf of every person in this Nation.

This was a man who often stood alone against great odds as he confronted and challenged dangers to our society. With gentle voice but persistent manner he moved directly toward his objectives—and he achieved results.

He was the champion of the American consumer—deeply concerned about the individual citizen's health and pocketbook. He was a crusader for the consumer interest, most recently in his one-man battle for safe and effective drugs at a reasonable price. The last legislation to bear his name will endure through the years as a monument to his efforts to improve the quality of the Nation's supply of drugs and provide protection for the Nation's consumers. Had he accomplished nothing more in his 24 years in Congress, this effort alone assured him a place in history.

But of all his attributes—of all his accomplishments—I shall remember him best as a Senator of the people—not just of the people of Tennessee, but of the Nation. He went to them and worked in their behalf. And they responded to him. They knew him when he walked down the main street of their cities and towns. They knew him as a friend—one who would help when they needed him.

No other Member of this body in recent times became better known or better loved by so many people of these United States. He dedicated his life to their interests. He was of them, by choice, and for the common good of all.

ESTES KEFAUVER's strength was rooted in his firm convictions. His guidance came from constant touch with everyday Americans. He was their servant. They—and all of us—shall miss him.

Mr. GORE. I yield now to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has shocked and saddened us all, and it is with heavy heart that I join my colleagues today in honoring his memory.

The late Senator from Tennessee left his mark everywhere—on the State that sent him to Washington, on the Senate, and upon millions of Americans everywhere.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a most distinguished Senator. He was an able representative of Tennessee, mindful always of the needs of his State. He was a man who fought always for the causes he felt were right.

Although it was never my privilege to serve on a Senate committee with ESTES KEFAUVER, he was a dear friend and I miss him very much. His great energy, distinguished service, and deep concern for the less privileged and the economically distressed made friends for him wherever he went.

Who can estimate how many Americans shook his hand and thrilled to his warm smile as he trekked across the Nation seeking support in his campaigns for the Presidency. Who can estimate how many Americans will tell their children and grandchildren that they shook the hand of a tall, sincere man who said to them: "I am ESTES KEFAUVER; I'm running for President of the United States, and I hope you'll help me."

His ability was rewarded 7 years before his untimely passing when he received from his party the second highest honor it can bestow—its nomination for Vice President of the United States.

Mr. President, the State of Tennessee and the citizens of our Nation have lost a most distinguished servant, and the Senate has lost a stalwart Member. Mrs. Cannon and I have lost a friend and we join in extending to Mrs. Kefauver and her family our deepest sympathy.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE].

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, I wish to join my distinguished colleagues in the Senate today to pay tribute to a truly great American from the State of Tennessee. Much has already been said in praise and much will be said in deep respect today and in future years about the majesty of this man. Many will point in great detail to the numerous significant measures he has personally offered or sponsored during his service in the Congress of the United States. Still others will single out his lasting contributions to the effectiveness of his indefatigable work in committee protecting the rights of all individuals.

All of us will recall vividly the days when this tall American in coonskin hat and proffered handshake traveled the highways and byways of this great Nation seeking the highest office the country could bestow, not for the glory of the office but for the opportunities which he believed to be available for further service to the people.

I loved and admired Senator ESTES KEFAUVER because, like all Americans, I love and admire men of dedication to service and courage. It is relatively easy to lead a popular crusade supported by the multitude. It is comparatively easy to speak loudly when public acceptance and ovation can certainly be anticipated for one's remarks. But I believe it takes a man of great courage and integrity to speak for unpopular causes. To speak for anyone whose rights have been denied and who has been viewed with suspicion by those easily swayed by the prevailing emotions takes an extremely courageous man. To raise a voice of dissent against the virulent multitude is not for the timid.

Senator KEFAUVER lived a life of courage and service. This Nation of ours is great because we have had men who were cast in the image of the great Senator from Tennessee. Our Nation would long ago have failed to attain its potential were it not for those who chose to run against the tide when a sense of conscience and duty so decreed.

I thank our Creator for sending us such a person during this decade of darkness and tension.

We will miss Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, but his spirit will long guide us in the work which faces us in the Congress of these United States.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL].

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise at this time to mourn the loss of ESTES KEFAUVER. He always had the interests of the little man in the forefront of his superb mind, and his death is a particular loss to the little man. And, to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, the Lord preferred the common people, because He made so many of them.

Big business and big labor had no impact upon ESTES KEFAUVER's views, his votes, or his actions. He was a man of courage and rectitude, and his loss is a very real one and deeply meaningful.

Speaking as a friend, and one who admired him very much indeed, I know how heavy my own heart is at his death. I extend all my own and my wife's sympathy to his wife, Nancy, to his daughter, Gail, who is a friend of my daughter, and to his other children. The only consolation I can offer to his family, to those closest to him, is that Senator KEFAUVER's death is a loss, not only to them, but to our Nation and to all our people; in fact, to all our whole world.

Senator KEFAUVER was a constant leader in our national strivings to eliminate unfairness and abuse. It is indicative of his zeal and of his efforts that he fought for the beliefs he cherished until the very end of his life. Truly, his life represents our highest standards of public service.

His place in this body and his influence in our lives will be almost impossible to replace. And his courage is beyond duplication.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President—
Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] is recognized.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, we pay tribute here today to one of the alltime stalwarts of this body, the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a champion of the man of the street.

Though he rose from humble surroundings, like so many of the great patriots from his native State of Tennessee, he towered above the crowd, and through his tireless efforts fought those whom he felt were in a position to take advantage of the common man. His doggedness, his character, his entire life was expended in establishing a better Nation and a better world.

Tennessee has sent many outstanding servants to the U.S. Senate; it has given our Nation an outstanding President in Andrew Jackson, one who it was said was the first to recognize the common man and to rise above aristocracy. It gave us a great Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and it did no less when it recognized ESTES KEFAUVER's exceptional ability.

I considered ESTES KEFAUVER a close friend. I appreciated his counsel, his friendship, and his down-to-earth interpretations of the troublesome national and international problems.

All of us have reviewed many glowing tributes to Senator KEFAUVER by the press of this Nation. One tribute from the Daily Post Athenian in his native State seemed to me to be most appropriate, and I should like to quote in part from this outstanding editorial which expresses so well my feelings toward our late distinguished colleague:

America is mourning. One of her all-time great sons is dead.

It is a long way from a rambling white house on Main Street in Madisonville, a little town in east Tennessee, to the White House on historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's Capital. But ESTES almost made it.

Perhaps fate denied him the Presidency and acclaimed him spokesman for the rank and file of the country.

That's what he was.

From New Hampshire to Florida, from Minnesota to California, from Chattanooga to Seattle, the tall Tennessean was the voice of the man who had something to say and could not be heard above the clamor of the crowd.

KEFAUVER spoke for him.

His message was heard and heeded. To say that he was always liked would be an injustice to him. At times he was bitterly opposed in his contentions, but he never swerved from his course. He never violated his own conscience, and never betrayed a course he represented.

These things made him a champion. Indeed, the letter T summarizes the life of KEFAUVER—tall, talented, trustworthy, and triumphant.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND].

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay respects to our late colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, a man whose unique ability and capabilities allowed him to rise from humble origin to a position of stature in the Senate of the United States of America. His career as a public servant stretched over a great many years and was highlighted in many instances by notable investigations and Senate proceedings with him at the forefront. He was a man noted for his constancy of purpose and unswerving dedication to his goal. My relations with him were always pleasant and congenial, and I was deeply impressed with the courtesy which he displayed toward everyone he met. He was a man whose warm and friendly personality enabled him to make the acquaintance of many people from coast to coast. He seemed to thoroughly enjoy meeting and being with people.

Senator KEFAUVER had a great interest in athletics which carried over from his college days. His physical stature and appearance were the envy of men many years his junior. I offer my heartfelt sympathy to his devoted widow and family in this time of bereavement.

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE].

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, few Senators have made a contribution to this Nation comparable to that of Senator KEFAUVER. Honored by election to the U.S. Senate and nomination for the Vice Presidency, he remained steadfast in modesty and the constant application of his talents to the needs of all Americans.

As one who admired his tenacity and his devotion to principle, I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Senator KEFAUVER as a fighter for justice, integrity, free competition in the business world, and fair treatment for all Americans. His contributions to this body will be felt and seen for many years.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the death of ESTES KEFAUVER came as a personal shock to many millions of Americans, I am sure. He was known not only as a Senator from Tennessee; he was regarded as a friend by many citizens who knew him for his tireless campaigning and his unrelenting determination to root out injustice wherever it existed.

To us in the Senate, the blow was an especially hard one. It was a privilege to work with Senator KEFAUVER and to watch him at work in this Chamber. He was the enemy of unfair advantage. He had the gift to see the right and the wrong in every situation. His basic values never changed, no matter how complex the issue was, no matter what pressures were exerted to cloud the issues.

The State of Tennessee has produced many great men. One of my heroes at college was Cordell Hull. Senator KEFAUVER was a worthy heir to Hull's ideals of service and social justice. It was an honor to serve with Senator KEFAUVER. His loss is one of the tragedies of our time.

Mr. President I also ask consent to have printed in the RECORD several editorials by New Jersey writers.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark News, Newark, N.J., Aug. 11, 1963]

CRUSADER

ESTES KEFAUVER was far more than a homespun presidential aspirant in a funny coonskin hat. Behind that folksy packaging there was hard iron. Ask the racket boys whose way of life he disrupted by exposure of their underworld apparatus. They will not forget the Senator from Tennessee.

Nor will the law-abiding public. New Jersey and particularly Bergen County benefited from the Kefauver crime hearings and so did the whole country. Bergen's gambling cleanup was one response to Senator KEFAUVER's call for a war on the underworld.

He exposed gambling as the base for organized crime. "The \$2 horse player and the 5-cent numbers player are not only gambling against hopeless odds," he declared, "they are also sending young people into drug addiction and young girls into prostitution. They are undermining our most sacred institutions."

The country will miss the gentleman from Tennessee.

[From the Atlantic City Press, Aug. 13, 1963]

KEFAUVER TO BE LONG REMEMBERED HERE

A courageous public champion has been taken from the national scene by the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

The tall Tennessean with the folksy, homespun manner, twice aspired to the Democratic presidential nomination and made an unsuccessful race for the Vice Presidency. He was a formidable candidate and the coonskin cap became the emblem of his grass-roots campaigning.

He perhaps will be best remembered as a fervent crusader against crime and monopoly. He was chairman of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee in 1951, when it conducted televised hearings that thrilled millions with closeups of big time racket chiefs, gamblers, and hoodlums who were among the witnesses.

Atlantic City did not escape the penetrating searchlight of the crimebuster. The committee delved into gambling operations at the shore and the implications constituted a lurid chapter which the resort would prefer to forget.

The bespectacled Senator with the southern drawl visited the city on more auspicious occasions as a convention speaker.

In recent years he had been in the public eye principally through his chairmanship of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

By a curious coincidence, his death came at a time when this area is again the scene of an investigation—this time by agents of the Internal Revenue Service.

Whatever else may be said about Senator KEFAUVER, he was a man of high principles and repeatedly refused to compromise them for political gain. He devoted his energies to the public service until his heart gave out at the age of 60.

As President Kennedy put it, the Senator's death "has deprived the Nation of one of its most distinguished leaders . . . His devotion to the public interest made him a powerful influence for good in our Nation's affairs."

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Sunday Times-Advertiser, Aug. 11, 1963]

THE TALL SENATOR IN THE COONSKIN CAP WAS ALWAYS HIS OWN MAN

(By Sam Fogg)

WASHINGTON.—Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who died yesterday, came out of Tennessee's

farm country to combat big city vice lords and business monopolies and twice seek the Presidency.

It was as the crusading chairman of a Senate Crime Investigating Committee that KEFAUVER first sprang to national prominence. The widely televised hearings were marked by KEFAUVER prodding away in a soft Tennessee drawl and getting surly, defiant responses from such crime kingpins as Frank Costello.

He first bid unsuccessfully for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952. He made the Daniel Boone coonskin cap his symbol and as a campaigner showed an almost insatiable zest for handshaking.

At the nominating convention, however, he was passed over for the then Illinois Governor Stevenson. He was opposed by southern politicians who disliked his moderate racial rights views and by northern city bosses who felt that his crime exposures had hurt them locally.

KEFAUVER's presidential ambitions stayed afield. In 1956 he directly challenged Stevenson's bid for renomination and the two met in a series of head-to-head primary battles. KEFAUVER won in such States as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Maryland but was crushed in the more pivotal primaries in California, Oregon, and Florida.

Stevenson, on his renomination, declared the choice of his vice presidential running mate an open race. KEFAUVER won it in a close battle with a young Senate colleague.

BEATS KENNEDY

The latter was John F. Kennedy who this weekend was mourning a death in his own family—the loss of his newborn son.

The Stevenson-Kefauver ticket was swamped as Dwight D. Eisenhower won his second term by a wide margin. From then on, KEFAUVER moved to the back of the national political stage.

He devoted himself mainly to the chairmanship of the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee, championing the cause of the Nation's consumers. He demonstrated the same crusading vigor in denouncing the prices of drugs as he had in castigating the criminals that had once appeared before him.

The tall Tennessean had always championed the underdog and had pursued an independent course during his 24 years as a House Member and Senator.

When he first ran for the Senate in 1948, Memphis Democratic boss Edward H. Crump had taunted KEFAUVER as the "pet coon" of newspaper publisher Silliman Evans.

KEFAUVER promptly brought forth a coonskin cap and told his audiences: "There might be a ring around the tail but none through the nose."

HANDSHAKE CHAMP

KEFAUVER made the handshake a potent political weapon. He would shake hundreds of hands a day on and off the campaign trail.

But the key to his personality was his underdog role. He championed the man in the street in his battles against crime, and monopolistic practices.

KEFAUVER always had his eye on the White House. His failure to win the presidential nomination in 1952 and 1956 was a bitter pill.

But he staged an all-out fight at an "open convention" to win the vice presidential nod from delegates to the 1956 Democratic Convention, beating Kennedy.

Any lingering bitterness he may have had over the failure to win the presidential spot never showed during the Stevenson campaign.

As Stevenson's running mate he threw himself into the drive for a Democratic victory with the same tireless, folksy manner that had won him so much support from the rank and file in the past.

KEFAUVER was always somewhat of an outcast among his Senate colleagues and anathema among the party leaders.

Much of the distrust goes back to the very event that propelled KEFAUVER into millions of American homes—the nationally televised crime hearings he sponsored in 1950.

The party leaders never quite forgave the freshman Senator for quickly gaining a reputation as a "crimebuster" and were convinced that the hearings contributed to Democratic defeats in some States in 1952.

When he first came to Congress as a House Member in 1939 he established himself as an internationally minded liberal. He was 1 of 10 Members of the House named by a national magazine for outstanding work in 1946.

KEFAUVER was born July 26, 1903, at Madison, Tenn., where his family had lived for generations. He attended a one-room school there and as a boy worked in his father's hardware store and on his farm.

At the University of Tennessee, he worked his way through college and was on the football and track squads. The 6-foot-3-inch, 200-pound Senator always deprecated his athletic powers, however.

He entered Yale law school and worked his way to a law degree by waiting tables and firing furnaces.

After practicing law in Chattanooga, KEFAUVER entered politics on a modest scale. Just before his first election to the House, he served as State commissioner of finance and taxation.

He married Nancy Pigott, a vivacious Scottish girl, in 1935. Their children are David, Diane, Eleanor, and Gail.

In recent years, KEFAUVER's activities had focused on the chairmanship of the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee which conducted a wide range of hearings into reports of pricing fixing and on a wide variety of antitrust matters.

KEFAUVER's hearings on the controversial Dixon-Yates power contract publicized the circumstances under which private power companies planned to build a steam generating plant in West Memphis, Ark., to channel power into the TVA network for use by the Atomic Energy Commission. The contract was subsequently cancelled.

The subcommittee's pricing inquiry also dealt extensively with drug prices, and its hearings were in part responsible for congressional actions which tightened up on the drug industry.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished assistant majority leader.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, this has been a memorable day in the Senate. It is a day that has been dedicated to a very fine, great, and good man. The works of this good man will live on for many generations, and the memory of this good man will live with us throughout our lives.

The life of a great man is very much like the course of a mighty river. It springs from humble and obscure beginnings; it gathers strength from many tributaries and refreshes all the lands it passes through; and ultimately, as it reaches the ocean, it links itself with all mankind.

So it was with our late and beloved colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. At every stage of his long journey from the hills of Tennessee to the Halls of Congress, he grew in strength and stature with widening experience—and, at every stage, he gave far more in devoted service than he received in public honors.

Coming to this body at the same time he did, I can speak from 15 years of

close and almost daily contact. Yet, when I cast my mind back over those years, I am amazed at all he attempted, and even more at how much he accomplished.

He attacked the underworld of gamblers and gangsters and the overworld of monopoly business with equal energy and courage. His television hearings cast a glaring and cleansing light upon the links between government and organized crime. His probes of price-rigging in the steel, electrical machinery, and other industries showed how our free enterprise system can be distorted by a privileged few at the expense of the many. Everything he did was characterized by dogged and diligent attention to detail. It was pioneering work, as well—and it blazed paths that all of us can follow.

I think today of his patient and persevering efforts to insure the highest standards of purity and safety in the drugs upon which many Americans must depend for their well-being or even their survival. It was a long and uphill struggle. I think particularly of the aid and encouragement he and his able staff gave to Dr. Frances Kelsey in her stubborn resistance to permitting thalidomide to be put on the market. Thanks to Dr. Kelsey, thousands of American children were born healthy and whole who would otherwise have been tragically deformed; and thanks to the impact of this experience, Senator KEFAUVER was able at length to secure legislation more adequately protecting the public against such risks.

I well recall the discussions and the debates on the so-called Kefauver-Harris drug bill, and I remember the tenacity that characterized the efforts of Senator KEFAUVER and the success that crowned his efforts.

Senator KEFAUVER was a faithful advocate for his State and his region of the country. He was a staunch proponent of the Tennessee Valley Authority and played a leading role in exposing the effort to erode it through what is now known as the infamous Dixon-Yates contract.

Yet from the first his horizons embraced the wider world. Before the Atlantic Community was more than a gleam in the eyes of a few far-seeing men, he sponsored the first Atlantic Union resolution—and saw it finally enacted 11 years later. Supporting NATO and seeing in it much more than a mere military alliance, he sought to give it political content by helping to found the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.

I hope that in the forthcoming NATO parliamentarians' conference that the delegates from the United States will see fit to pay tribute to the leadership of Senator KEFAUVER. I believe that our friends and compatriots in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would be appreciative of the efforts of the delegates from the United States to remind the parliamentarians once again of the work and of the vision of our departed colleague.

Zealous to protect the President's authority in foreign affairs, he threw himself into the successful fight against the so-called Bricker amendment, in which

position he believed sincerely, and in which I fully concurred. That amendment would have severely restricted the authority of the President to conduct our foreign policy.

His was a full life, and he had his share of bitter disappointment as well. I often wondered from what deep sources he drew the strength to carry on. I believe that it was because he came back, over and over again, to the people of Tennessee and of all America, to commune with them and refresh his dedication to their cause. But he was no mere common denominator of his constituents' views, although he sought them and respected them. Precisely because he was so deeply and firmly rooted in the people, he could on significant occasions step out ahead of them. In the fields of civil rights and civil liberties, he took lonely and unpopular positions which time—and, I am delighted to add, the voters of Tennessee—subsequently justified.

Senator KEFAUVER was loved and respected all the way from the courthouse squares of Tennessee to the Parliaments of Europe. But I want here and now to bear witness that nowhere was he more respected, nowhere is his memory more cherished, than in this Chamber—both among those who disagreed with him and those who usually, but not always, agreed with him.

He gave himself unstintingly, generously, and indeed sacrificially to the service of the people and of the causes in which he believed. He was a true Democrat in the best sense of that word, a believer in democratic institutions and a practitioner of democratic ideas. The highest honor we can pay him is to draw inspiration from the noble example he has set us.

Mr. President, on August 12, 1963, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO adopted a resolution of tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER. I ask unanimous consent to have this resolution printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON ESTES KEFAUVER, UNITY HOUSE, PA., AUGUST 12, 1963

Whereas death has taken from our midst Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, a man who served his country with unusual dedication, tremendous devotion and unequalled patriotism; and

Whereas ESTES KEFAUVER was a true humanitarian, a firm disciple of democracy, a defender of consumer interests, and a warm and abiding friend of labor; and

Whereas all of America and all of the organized labor movement of this country is both the richer because of his lifetime service to the United States and the poorer because of his sad and untimely death: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which last February unanimously chose ESTES KEFAUVER to receive the Murray-Green Award of the AFL-CIO for his great services to the cause of humanity, joins his fellow Americans in mourning the passing of this great Senator; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO hereby determines that its Murray-Green Award will be given to the Senator posthumously; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council assigns as its representative at the funeral service for ESTES KEFAUVER, a man who served with him in many battles for the public good, Stanton Smith, Coordinator of AFL-CIO State and City Central Bodies; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution testifying to our great admiration, our deep sense of gratitude, and our overwhelming sorrow be spread upon the records of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and that true copies be transmitted to the family of the late and great Senator whom we join in mourning his death, and to the Congress of the United States.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I should like at this time to pay my respects to his wonderful and lovely wife, Nancy Kefauver, and to their fine family. We were privileged, as the Humphrey family, to be very close friends of the Kefauver family. There are no words of any tribute or memorial that can properly express the heartfelt feelings that exist between good friends.

Mr. GORE. I now yield to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the memory of a great Senator, a great Democrat, and a great American, ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. His passing was a shock to the U.S. Senate, and I think I am speaking for the entire body when I say that I cannot think of a single man whose unique qualities will be more sorely missed. The late Senator from Tennessee made a lasting mark upon this body—a mark which many may strive to copy but which will never be duplicated.

ESTES KEFAUVER had a single mindedness of purpose and raw courage seldom matched by a public servant. Sometimes these qualities tried the patience of his friends as well as of his foes. But it always stood him in good stead with the little people of this country, who flocked to his coonskin standard in great numbers and with great enthusiasm. Certainly it endeared him to the hearts of his constituents who returned him time and time again to Congress.

The public image of the big man in the coonskin cap gladhanding his way about the country paints a deceptively simple picture of a complex man. ESTES KEFAUVER tried his hand at many things, and was successful in nearly all of them. His efforts as a college football player, a student political leader, and a practicing lawyer were crowned with success.

It is fitting that his first venture into politics should be against an entrenched machine. As a Representative, and later as a Senator, he continued to hammer away at any element which he considered was infringing upon the rights of the common man. No opponent was too big or too powerful—organized crime, machine politics, privilege, monopolies. As a civil libertarian or as a defender of the interests of the consumer, he had few peers.

Only in his bid for the Presidency of the United States was success denied him. He reached his political zenith on the second rollof of the 1952 nominating convention, climaxing a spectacular rise from relative obscurity to national prominence. It is to his great credit that he took this personal setback

graciously, and that he agreed to serve his party as Vice Presidential candidate in 1956.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a big man. He was big in body and possessed a big smile and a big handshake. But he should be remembered for his big heart. His love for humanity and his genuine concern for the downtrodden were unsurpassed. It was not for publicity or votes that this man drove himself beyond his physical limits in their behalf. In his mind, special interests were to be fought, and if nobody else would fight them, he would. The persistence and zeal with which he tilted with the windmills of real or imagined evil strained the slender thread of forbearance of his colleagues on more than one occasion. But the differences were not personal and did not diminish our respect for him.

Those of us who served with ESTES KEFAUVER in the House and Senate have had the real pleasure of having watched a great American of humble origin rise to national heights of fame and success, insuring as he did so a unique place in our history books. The man with the ready smile and handshake, the colorful coonskin cap, and the penchant for "going it alone" when the going got rough, is already a legend. We who pay tribute to him today can only add kind footnotes to what history has already written.

Mr. President, I extend my deepest condolences to the family of the late ESTES KEFAUVER and to the people of his beloved Tennessee.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, in the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, the Senate and the people of the United States lost an old and dear friend. His death left a void in the affairs of this Nation and in the hearts of his countrymen that can never be filled.

Although I did not share the long association with him that many of my colleagues enjoyed, I felt a great sense of deprivation and sorrow when I learned of his untimely death. I sincerely mean it when I say that I can think of no national figure who was more loved and admired by my fellow Hoosiers than was this gentle, yet dynamic, Tennessean.

ESTES KEFAUVER was always one of my personal heroes. As a freshman Senator it was natural for me to turn to him for that advice and counsel which is so necessary to those of us who are new to the ways of this body. I shall never forget the warmth and helpfulness which he showed me in my first few months in Washington. As fellow Senators, fellow Democrats, and fellow members of the Judiciary Committee, it was with a feeling of great honor that the junior Senator from Indiana was able to count the senior Senator from Tennessee among his closest associates. I shall sorely miss him.

But, Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was more than a mentor and friend. Above all, he was an inspiration—a symbol of the ideal toward which all of us as representatives of the people should aspire. And, in the death of our beloved colleague, this inspiration—fortunately—lives on.

There were many characteristics of Senator KEFAUVER that helped to make

him the truly great Senator and great American that he was. We have talked of many of them here: his unflinching honesty, his humility, his forthrightness, his warmth, kindness, and concern for his fellow man, his courage, and his devotion to his job and to his country. But, above all, what impressed me most was that here in ESTES KEFAUVER was a man who really cared.

Here was a man who cared about the power of organized crime and who did all he could to fight it; a man who cared when he found that many of his fellow Americans were being overcharged for vitally needed medicines; a man who cared in a real and vital way about the effects of business concentration upon our free enterprise system; a man who cared above all for the plight of the common man.

We shall pay tribute to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER each time we cast a vote for the common man, each time our convictions lead us to overcome our fears and dare to do battle with giants, each time we take a cause to heart and fight for it until the end.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a man who cared about his fellow man. In his death we realize how much we cared about him. Let us hope that his memory will long live in the hearts of us all to give us inspiration in the years ahead.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, at the time of his death, I had known ESTES KEFAUVER longer than I had any other Member of the Senate. It was a richly rewarding and inspiring association and friendship. I am sure that I received far more than I gave to this association and friendship.

But, then, I expect that this is true of all of those who knew him as most of us did. ESTES KEFAUVER was that kind of man.

He was a common man, and yet an uncommon man. He came from the common people. While he rose from his station, he remained a man with an uncommonly common touch. Yes, he remained a common man with the addition of the glamour that comes to a man of his position.

ESTES KEFAUVER was, I believe, in the tradition of Andrew Jackson. These two Tennesseans served their State and their Nation in much the same manner and with much the same ways.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a friend of the friendless. Frustrated in many of his own goals, he never stopped fighting for the things he believed in and for his friends.

This is a better Senate, a better country, and most of us are better men because ESTES KEFAUVER came our way.

Mr. CHURCH subsequently said: Mr. President, last Thursday, the business of the Senate was suspended to permit the delivery of memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee. Since it was not possible for me to be back here at that time, I wish now to speak a few words in tribute to our friend and colleague.

My quarters in the Old Senate Office Building are directly across the hall from the space lately occupied by ESTES KEFAUVER. Soon after his last successful

canvass of the Tennessee electorate, I remember stepping from my office to identify an unusual clapping sound coming from the corridor outside. It was applause. Both sides of the corridor were lined with staff people—my own, the staff people of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], as well as KEFAUVER's own associates—who had turned out to greet the Senator as he strode from the elevator to his desk. This tribute, rare indeed, in the workaday world of the Senate Office Building, must have given ESTES a precious memory. The event, spontaneously set in motion by those who knew him best, could never have happened to a public idol with feet of clay.

My own closest association with ESTES KEFAUVER came as the result of our joint efforts in behalf of the resolution authorizing the Atlantic Citizens Convention. With courage and single-mindedness he worked to advance the cause of Atlantic Union, in the House and in the Senate, in good times and in bad. This aspect of Senator Kefauver's public service is well noted in a tribute to him by Elmo Roper, which I ask to have printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEFAUVER: THE IRREPLACEABLE MAN
(By Elmo Roper)

Most of us have been reared to believe that there is no such thing as the indispensable man—and yet somehow words approximating those must be found to describe Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. Certainly the phrase which all those who labored for Atlantic Union can agree to is that he was the irreplaceable man.

In writing about ESTES KEFAUVER, it's hard to know where to begin. Perhaps one should begin with his courage. He never hesitated to take an unpopular position when he believed it was the right one. He was the first man in the Congress of the United States to take a public stand for Atlantic Union—at a time when such a view made him solitary indeed. Born in the Old South, he was uncompromisingly devoted to equal rights for Negroes. However much one might have disagreed with any of his views, I doubt if anyone can be found who would deny that most of his positions required courage of the highest order.

But one might as easily begin with his loyalty, his steadfastness. Over the years he never wavered in his support of Atlantic Union, publicly or privately. Called a nigger loving one worlder, in the middle of a hot political campaign, he took the epithet calmly in stride and retreated not an inch from his convictions. Everything he ever told me he would do, during the long battle for congressional acceptance of the idea of an Atlantic Citizens Convention, he did. In a profession of easy promises, he kept every one.

Yet a very good case could be made that the first thing one should mention in connection with Senator KEFAUVER was his vision. Many years ago he realized that rivers, mountains and oceans, color of the skin and religion were unnatural boundaries for governments. To let any of them assume the unnatural importance they have come to have in this 20th century was to invite—at worst—continued wars and—at best—continued costly rivalries. In a world shrunken by fast transportation and faster communications and where men know how to destroy centuries of civilization in minutes, some stronger cement was needed to bind men together. To ESTES KEFAUVER that more binding cement

was a belief in the dignity of every human being. On that foundation, he would have built a broader, more enduring government than this planet has ever seen.

Perhaps the underlying source of ESTES KEFAUVER's strength was his ability to stand alone. During his time in the Senate, he never did anything out of a desire to become a member of the club nor did he tailor his views to assure reelection to that exclusive body. He was guided solely by the inner force of his own reasoning powers—which were formidable, coonskin cap to the contrary. No outer force had the power to alter his convictions—or his actions. I suppose what I am describing is, very simply, a man of complete integrity.

Yet there was nothing out of character in ESTES KEFAUVER's walking up the streets of little towns all over America and greeting people with, "I am ESTES KEFAUVER; I am running for the Presidency and I would like to have your support." He was in tune with the aspirations of all mankind—even though he was one of mankind's most exceptional products.

And for many of us, grief over the death of a great man is compounded by the fact that he was to our cause the irreplaceable man.

Mr. CHURCH. ESTES KEFAUVER had many friends in Idaho, men, and women who gave him their commitment when he was a candidate for the Presidency. The history of the fifties cannot now be rewritten, but appropriate to ESTES KEFAUVER are the words spoken by Horatio of the fallen Prince Hamlet:

For he was likely, had he been put on, to have prov'd most royal.

Mr. GRUENING subsequently said: Mr. President, last Thursday the Senate devoted its session to paying tributes to one whom I consider one of its all-time great Senators, ESTES KEFAUVER, and I was proud to be among those who spoke. The tributes that poured forth from our colleagues were eloquent testimony not only to the esteem and admiration in which ESTES was held but demonstrated the wide range of his activities, invariably in behalf of the public interest and for a better world.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from the September and October issues respectively of the publication, *Freedom & Union*, the first of which is entitled "Senator ESTES KEFAUVER: Trial Blazer of Atlantic Union, 1903-1963"; and the second, "How KEFAUVER Submitted First Atlantic Convention Bill," as well as an article from the former issue by Edward J. Meeman, and an editorial from the same issue by Elmo Roper entitled "KEFAUVER, the Irreplaceable Man," be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, and that these be added to my tribute in the memorial volume which will contain the eulogies.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From *Freedom & Union*, September 1963]
SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER: TRAILBLAZER OF ATLANTIC UNION, 1903-63

"The answer of the State Department to every proposal for peace, Mr. President, is that it needs time to consider the proposal. My heaven, Mr. President * * * we need to utilize the brief time that we have * * * to quit drifting and start moving. The State Department evidently does not realize that we cannot kill time; it is time which kills

us. And that was never more true than it is at this very moment."

POIGNANT TIMELY REMINDER

Thus spoke Senator ESTES KEFAUVER in his speech, "Atlantic Union: The Way to Peace—Reply to the State Department," in answer to its opposition to the Atlantic Union resolution he had introduced July 28, 1949. He spoke on the Senate floor March 13, 1950—3 months before communism suddenly launched its attack on South Korea.

All that speech repays rereading now, but the paragraph quoted speaks most eloquently just today to all his generation, and most movingly to us Atlantic Unionists who know how priceless was his pioneering for Federation of the Free. No one in the prime of life can be reminded too often or too poignantly that, however much we act as though we had time to kill, all the while time is killing us, ESTES speaks to us, and to all, with new authority on this subject now. He did not kill time, he crowded great good into his years, and wisely did he do so, for now time has killed him, when only 60, at the peak of his powers.

The cause of Atlantic Federal Union suffered a truly tragic loss when his heart abruptly gave way on August 10. He had gone from the Senate floor, where he was opposing private monopoly of communication satellites, to the hospital, thinking he had only indigestion. There his heart—until then a kind heart and a stout one in every way—suddenly gave in.

WHAT OTHER SENATOR?

Nature gave ESTES great gifts; hard work developed them, and what he had already done with them promised even finer contributions to his fellow man, had he been allowed even the Biblical three score and ten. He was not a member of the Senate's famed inner club, but those who are, and all the 99 Senators, may well ask themselves: "The death of what Senator among us would have the nationwide, Atlantic-wide impact Senator KEFAUVER's has had—measured not only in front page headlines and editorial tributes but in a deep sense of personal loss felt by so many whose devoted loyalty he had won, for so many reasons, in so many places and fields of life?"

ESTES was much more than one Senator in a hundred; he was one man in a myriad. He needs a Shakespeare to do him justice—and for him Shakespeare did write a eulogy. It is the tribute to Brutus which Antony paid on the battlefield where he perished. One need but omit—as I do here—its second and third lines to make even its "He * * * made one of them" refer no longer to Brutus and the conspirators, but (like all the rest) to ESTES and his work to unite the free:

"This was the noblest Roman of them all.

He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them
His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand
up

And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

THE GENTLE WARRIOR

ESTES KEFAUVER's life was gentle in the sense that he was a born gentleman, the soul of kindness. He did not learn consideration for others from a course on how to make friends. Consideration for each person he encountered, however humbled, was in him second nature—nay, true nature. He carried it to a friendly fault that has made his ready handshake legendary, and overshadowed for the public better proofs of his thoughtfulness that thousands treasure.

His life was far from gentle, however, in the sense of drifting with the current or following the way of least resistance as so many do, avoiding hard decisions, conflict, ESTES was forever paddling his canoe upstream,

even up rapids that daunted other explorers. Increasingly through his 10 years in the House and 15 in the Senate, his public life was devoted to heroic conflict. His battles were both negative and positive.

He fought against dragons as powerful as war, democratic disunion or anarchy, race prejudice, organized crime, monopoly and profiteering in steel, medicine, the high heavens of Telstars. Birth involves conflict too, and ESTES fought for creation of the Federation of the Free, for a more effective "Twentieth Century Congress"—the title of his first book—for more democratic elections (through abolishing the poll tax, reforming the presidential electoral college, etc.)

In politics as in engineering, there are two kinds of men, the kind that construct and the kind that operate. ESTES was of the rarer constructive type. His passion for building better government first showed itself at the county level when he came home from Yale to practice law. Before he died he had contributed to the creation of better government at all the other existing levels, municipal, State and Federal—and above all to the constitution of democratic government where it does not yet exist, in Atlantica. His championship of Federal Government on this international scale contributed to his election to the Senate in 1948 despite Boss Crump in Memphis—and there resulted in replacing his machine with an independent government in that city, and freeing the State government from bossism. But this is a story in itself—for a later issue.

A GIANT'S STRENGTH

ESTES had a giant's strength, without the fault that Shakespeare found in this:

O, it is excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous

To use it like a giant.

I wish Shakespeare had gone on to tell us how excellent it is to use such strength for noble ends, not to exploit the weaknesses of others for one's own profit but to find satisfactions in making the weak stronger, the fearful braver, and in freeing one's fellows from the walls of anarchy, war, and moral cowardice that hem man in, and the chains of oppression, prejudice, and ignorance that hold him down. ESTES had a giant's strength in at least two senses, physical and moral. He was weak as a speaker; he moved men by his character much more than by his speech. He was not a seminal thinker, but he had an independent mind. He was open to the ideas of others and not too proud to work for those he judged to be sound as if they were his own. And his judgment not only of ideas but even more of political situations and strategy was very good. To return to the two strengths mentioned.

MR. COURAGE

Physically, ESTES stood head and broad shoulders above most of us. His stamina carried him through three killing campaigns for his Senate seat, and the multitude of presidential primaries that he won in 1952 and 1956. Morally, his strength was even rarer.

I think of him often as Mr. Courage, for throughout the 15 years I knew him intimately he was the most consistently and outstandingly courageous man in legislative office I have yet known. Nor does my prize for courage go to him only because of the degree of it he showed in the leadership he gave Atlantic Union in Congress, as some may assume.

It has never seemed to me to take the highest courage for those who laud the commonsense of the common people, as all politicians do, to ask the voters to back the case for Atlantic Union, which is commonsense itself, to me, at least. But the record shows that they do think this requires high cour-

age, and so I concede the point, the more readily because such courage is indeed required to continue in this course as long as ESTES did. The eulogies and editorials I have read have nearly all stressed his courage, but—with significant exceptions in Tennessee where he was best known—none even mentioned his work for Atlantic Union. This shows, at least, that there was plenty of other proof of it; the other evidence has most impressed me, too.

ESTES 83 TO 1

The ignorance, prejudice, and misguided emotions that Atlantic Union runs counter to and that so many politicians have feared to face do not seem to me so hard to overcome or so explosive as the ignorance, bigotry, and misguided emotions roused by other issues, most directly in one's own constituency. Most politicians seem to share this evaluation, judging from their fear of even irking their constituents on matters that touch them to the quick. Yet through these minefields sown with booby-traps ESTES marched as calmly as others on a safe highway—even more serenely, if anything, than he did on the Atlantic Union road. For example, on racial issue votes, he stood out among all the southern Senators, conservatives and liberals, often alone until ALBERT GOSE joined him as the junior Senator from the State already famed for Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson.

The vote that most impressed me allowed one to test ESTES against the whole field. It came when northern Democratic liberals, with whom ESTES often voted, sought during the McCarthy fever to outfox those who charged that they were soft on communism, by sponsoring a bill to outlaw the Communist Party. No one was under worse attack then as a pink than ESTES in Tennessee by those who sought his seat. The Senate approved the bill 83 to 1—and the 1 was Senator KEFAUVER. The immediate result was an astonishing victory he won single-handed, which began the next day when two Senators were brave enough to confess on the floor their consciences had kept them awake all night because they should have voted as he did. In a later issue we shall publish an article by his then Administrative Assistant, Richard Wallace, now executive director of the Atlantic Council of the United States, telling this whole heart-warming story. This demonstration of Senator KEFAUVER's courage and wisdom deserves a much more spacious monument than we can give it now.

NOT RECKLESS COURAGE

The courage that characterized Senator Kefauver was not blind or even reckless or flamboyant. It was no less deliberate than determined, as aware of the dangers as it was quiet, a courage fathered by deeply rooted values and mothered by firm faith in his fellow man.

"His critics in the Senate called him 'ESTES the Martyr,' the 'Frontiersman,' and the 'Scourge of Sin,'" the New York Times said: "They accounted him a canny politician bent on building up a personal following." Frontiersman he was indeed in spirit, but there was in him nothing of Jeremiah, still less of the martyr or fanatic. His courage came from no such sources. True, he was a shrewd politician—as I have had much more occasion to welcome than to criticize—but Congress swarms with canny politicians who seek to build up a personal following * * * by anything but the course that ESTES took. Two of many examples in my personal knowledge may show that seeking his own advantage was not his major motive.

TWO STEPS BACK FROM FAME

When ESTES gained national renown by his crime investigation I was disturbed, because I feared it would divert him too much from Atlantic Union. I expressed to him more than once my anxiety, and my belief that

Federation of the Free was more worthy of his mettle. It is now forgotten that at the height of the fame his Crime Investigation Committee had brought him, he resigned as its chairman. He tied this to his responsibility as sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution, in a statement on March 24, 1951. The Korean war was then on, and he explained to his constituents: "Tennessee boys are dying on foreign battlefields and I believe this plan I proposed may provide the answer we pray for. I consider it my bounden duty to turn my efforts and time from local and national crime to international crime."

Freedom & Union featured this on its May 1951 cover, but the mass media gave it scant if any attention. The cause to which he turned has brought Senator KEFAUVER so little publicity, thus far, that, as has been noted, outside Tennessee his obituaries rarely mentioned his Atlantic Union role. Such was this "canny politician bent on building up a personal following."

The second example I would cite came in 1959. The outlook for congressional approval of the Atlantic Convention proposed—which Foster Dulles had blocked when he became Secretary of State—had improved enough to make its supporters, including Senator KEFAUVER, believe it might win, and therefore should be reintroduced. Far from seeking to cash in on his early work, he advised the resolution's supporters that, because of hostility he had roused on other issues and the fact that he was not a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, it would be wiser to get a member of that committee to introduce it.

In the interest of the resolution, he stepped aside for Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, who became its chief sponsor, and Senator FRANK CHURCH, who became its floor manager. ESTES continued to work as hard for it in the ranks as when he was out in front. Without him it would not have passed the Senate as it did in 1960—and I happen to know that it was his influence behind the scenes that gave it the Republican support it needed to clear the Rules Committee and reach the floor of the House, where its victory was clinched. Such was the character of ESTES KEFAUVER.

WHERE WE DIFFERED

Devotion to principle did not blind him to the values of compromise. In my view he was too ready, after the failure of the first years of head-on onslaught for the Atlantic Union resolution, to follow those who urged that the way to get it through was to water it down. At times I differed strongly with him on strategy. We agreed on the need to accept some compromises to get action while insisting on enough of the essential to make the action worthwhile. We differed only on the degree this involved. I was readier than he to risk losing the battle than to win it in a way I thought risked losing the war.

There was truth in both views: The resolution did win approval, as he hoped, in the weakened form that he found safe—and that in the end I supported, partly from respect for his judgment and partly from necessity. But, as I feared, the resulting convention held in January 1962 fell woefully short of what we both had sought. Though ESTES would go farther than I in such compromising, I know his willingness came from no weakening of his devotion to Atlantic Union.

STARTING KEFAUVER SERIES

The story of Senator KEFAUVER's work for Atlantic Union is too great to be told now, and too impressive, inspiring and filled with human interest not to be told later. And so, in succeeding issues, we shall tell more of it. We shall accompany the series with documents, beginning now, where we give the text of his first major Senate speech on Atlantic Union. Only 11 days after his

death, the New York Times found occasion to note: "The loss of Senator KEFAUVER seems greater today than it did when death struck him down." As the true story of his work for Atlantic Federation becomes better known, that comment will swell into a chorus, and his stature will loom even greater.

HIS 1948 COMMITMENT

In his hometown, Madisonville, Tenn., named for the "Father of the Federal Constitution," where ESTES was buried, he made on June 5, 1948, his first public commitment to Atlantic Union. Announcing his candidacy for the Senate, he said:

"I have studied the matter very closely. I am convinced that the one real way that we can have peace in the world is to join in a kind of federation with the other freedom-loving peoples.

I feel that the statesmen of these democracies should work toward this program, just as the statesmen of our Nation worked toward building 13 States into the Federation which grew into the great United States of America. It is going to take work, a lot of prayerful thinking, and moral and religious regeneration. But it is not only possible, it must be done."

FINAL TESTIMONIAL

Fifteen years later, I would testify in the words of Timothy: "He fought a good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith." And I would add these words with which the Associated Press ended its report of the burial of Senator KEFAUVER on August 13:

"As thunder rolled, the coffin was removed by an Air Force honor guard to the graveside. Lightning flashed as the casket was lowered, and when the family turned from the grave, a heavy downpour began."

In a way that would have seemed fitting to the ancients, the noblest Roman of them all passed, into history.

CLARENCE STREET.

[From Freedom and Union, October 1963]
HOW KEFAUVER SUBMITTED FIRST ATLANTIC CONVENTION BILL

Senator KEFAUVER introduced in the Senate the first Atlantic Union resolution (S. Con. Res. 57) on July 26, 1949, on behalf of 20 Senators, a bipartisan group which grew to 21 a little later when Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY (now assistant majority leader) joined it. It comprised 14 Democrats and 7 Republicans—the latter including Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The identical resolution was introduced the same day in the House, where its leaders thought it better strategy to limit sponsorship to these five: Hale Boggs (Democrat of Louisiana, now assistant majority leader), Clifford Davis, Democrat of Tennessee; Walter H. Judd, Republican of Minnesota; George A. Smathers, Democrat of Florida; now a Senator; and James W. Wadsworth, Republican of New York.

Of the 26 who cosponsored the resolution in both Houses only 8 now remain in Congress: Senators FULBRIGHT (now chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee), LISTER HILL, HUMPHREY, SMATHERS, JOHN J. SPARKMAN, MILTON R. YOUNG, and Representatives BOGGS and DAVIS. In reporting the introduction of the resolution, the September 1949 Freedom and Union said:

"The first official step toward union of the free has been taken, at long last * * * Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, pioneer free federalist in Congress, introduced this resolution * * * on behalf of the largest number in that body to back any proposal in this field. The group is impressive for its quality, too. Outstanding among the influential leaders in it is Senator Walter F. George, Democrat, of Georgia, rated as one of the three most powerful men in the Senate.

"He is not only chairman of its important Finance Committee but ranks next to Chair-

man Connally in the Foreign Relations Committee to which this resolution has been referred.

"Impressive, too, is the resolution's sponsorship in the House. There its outstanding leader is a Republican James Wadsworth of New York. A veteran of the Spanish war, he has at 72, the distinction of being the only Member of the House (where he has served since 1933), who has also served in the U.S. Senate (1915-27). [He] is acknowledged to be one of the most influential men in both Houses.

"The Atlantic Union resolution is off to a flying start—but it is not a day too soon that it has come officially before Congress and the world. It is now a little more than 10 years since the United States was first publicly urged to invite the other North Atlantic democracies to a Federal Constitution Convention.

"More than half of that decade was spent in world war, at a cost of millions of lives, thousands of billions of dollars. The war ended in complete military victory, in 'unconditional surrender,' and in the U.N. and a flock of other world organizations.

"The net result? A figure or two may suffice. In August, 1939, the U.S. Congress passed a defense budget that then set a peacetime record; it totaled \$1,614 million * * *. The 1939 figure was only about one-tenth of the U.S. defense budget 10 years later.

Federal taxes alone in 1949 were five times greater than in 1941, but the U.S. production total in the same period merely doubled * * *. This means that the tax burden on production is now two and a half times what it was. Production now is falling, but Government expenditure is still rising.

"Some less costly road to peace than the one we are now following must be found," as Will Clayton says, and the road he points to—Atlantic Union—must be taken with the least delay."

The Senate held hearings on the resolution in February 1950, but the Foreign Relations Committee took no action, deciding—after the Korean war began—to wait and see. The resolution dying that session, Senator KEFAUVER reintroduced the same text in 1951 on behalf of 27 Senators, including most of the previous group plus such additions as Senators George Aiken, Frank Carlson, Richard Nixon, Herbert Lehman, Russell Long and John McClellan. The House sponsors numbered seven and included Christian A. Herter (later Secretary of State) and Mike Mansfield (now Senate majority leader).

(There follows the text of the statements Senator KEFAUVER made on the floor and to the press in introducing the resolution in 1949, and its text in 1949 and 1951.—EDITORS.)

"Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a concurrent resolution on behalf of a distinguished bipartisan group of Senators, to-wit: Walter F. George; Guy M. Gillette; Raymond E. Baldwin; Robert C. Hendrickson; Bert H. Miller; Harry P. Cain; Zales P. Ecton; Lister Hill; John J. Sparkman; J. William Fulbright; Burnet R. Maybank; Edward J. Thye; Garrett L. Withers; Joseph R. McCarthy; Harley M. Kilgore; Virgil Chapman; J. Allen Frear, Jr.; Frank P. Graham; and Milton R. Young.

"The resolution requests the President to invite the other six sponsors of the pact to meet with American delegates 'in a Federal Convention to explore how far their peoples, and other democracies whom the Convention may invite to send delegates, can apply between them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union.'

"Its purpose is to permit timely, fruitful investigation of the possibilities of overcoming, through a federal union of the At-

lantic democracies, the international difficulties we face. It aims also to give the United States and the cause of freedom and peace the maximum psychological advantages of leadership, without our writing any blank check or incurring any dangerous commitment."

AVOID PIECEMEAL SOLUTIONS

"We face in the Atlantic area, and particularly with Canada, Britain, France, and Benelux, a complex of problems—political, military, economic, monetary—which we are now trying to solve separately, piecemeal, by the ECA, the pact, rearmament, etc. We are also trying to solve them only on a diplomatic or government-to-government basis.

"Calling the proposed convention would not prevent continued efforts along these lines, but it would permit us, in company with the other pact sponsors, to try also to solve this complex of problems by tackling them as a whole, and on the man-to-man basis of our own American Federal Union system. It would commit us to nothing more than an earnest exploration of this way out.

"So great has been the success of the Federal system wherever it has been tried that for us to decide even to explore its possibilities in the Atlantic community would rouse great hope. It would seem wiser to begin this exploration now while we have time to do it carefully, rather than risk waiting until events force hasty, ill-considered action.

"The proposed resolution has the support of many eminent citizens, led by former Justice Owen J. Roberts, president of the Atlantic Union Committee, and its vice president, Robert Patterson, former Secretary of War, and Will Clayton, former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

"We who sponsor this resolution in both Houses of the Congress represent the people of many States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the center to the high North and the Deep South, from the Smokies to the Rockies. We include members not only of both the great parties, but of nearly every important school of thought from conservative to liberal in each of them. Some of us voted for the Atlantic Treaty with great hope, and some with deep misgivings.

"The list of Senators sponsoring this resolution, while diverse in interest and thought, are towers of strength in this great body. Indeed, there is not a Senator in this group who does not have a better claim to the honor of filing this resolution than I do.

"Diverse as this group is, we are united in believing that it is high time we Americans began to explore in a Federal Convention how far we can extend the Federal principles of the United States between the free peoples of the North Atlantic. Even those of us who have the greatest hope in the North Atlantic pact and in the United Nations agree that in a period so full of peril as the present we dare not neglect to explore so promising a way as Federal union to strengthen the dikes against war, depression and dictatorship."

This is the text of the statement to the press Senator KEFAUVER made after introducing the Atlantic Union resolution in the Senate, July 26, 1949:

"I have today introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution on behalf of Senators (same list as in preceding statement made on the floor), inviting the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates to a Federal Convention.

"We believe this resolution is in the great line of American history.

"This is a resolution to explore—and what is deeper in America than the spirit of exploring? It was by exploring that brave men discovered this New World. It was by calling a Federal Convention in 1787 to explore how the 13 Original States could be united more effectively than by the feeble Articles

of Confederation that our Founding Fathers discovered the fruitful principles of free Federal union which they embodied in our Constitution—now the world's oldest written Constitution and the one that has brought more freedom, peace, and prosperity to more men and women than any form of government ever did in human history.

"Well, the resolution we sponsor is to explore the possibility of applying these same Federal union principles to unite the democracies of the New and the Old Worlds in a great union of the free—to explore whether we may not thus find, and lead humanity along, the way to that better, happier, freer world which mankind has been vainly seeking by other routes, and for which the lives of so many men have been sacrificed in two World Wars in our time."

[At this point the statement inserted several of the paragraphs of the above speech which Senator KEFAUVER made on the floor in introducing the resolution—EDDORS.]

"Too often already our hopes have failed us. Too often since Pearl Harbor we have been forced into precipitate action by the failure of our hopes. We, too, can be forced to offer union overnight, as the British were at Dunkirk,—but this is not the way our forefathers built this great Union of ours. It is easy to speed from makeshift to makeshift, but to build an enduring union, to build anything enduring, takes time.

"Whatever we may think of the North Atlantic Treaty, it does gain us time. The question is: how shall we use this time? We who sponsor this Atlantic Union resolution agree in proposing that we use that time to begin without delay to explore the possibilities of oceanic federation now, while we can explore them with careful prudence.

"We should stress that this proposal does not prevent us from continuing the present efforts to solve by other methods the problems confronting us. But why should these efforts prevent us from exploring the Federal Union solution? When our scientists tackled the problem of harnessing atomic energy, they tackled it in four different ways at once. Should we not learn from that example?

"The fact is that we Americans face in the North Atlantic area with Canada, Britain, France, and Benelux, not one problem but a complex of problems.

"Not only are we still relying on the piecemeal technique which Secretary Marshall justly condemned in his celebrated speech, but we are confining our efforts to the diplomatic, or government-to-government approach. We approached this complex of problems piecemeal first on a universal government-to-government basis, through Bretton Woods, the International Bank and Fund, the United Nations, the International Trade Organization, the Baruch plan. When that approach didn't work, we got down to the heart of the problem in the North Atlantic area—but still we tackled each side of it separately on this government-to-government diplomatic basis, in the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the rearmament program.

"The Atlantic Union Resolution would not, I repeat, prevent continued efforts along these lines, or any of the variations of them that have been proposed in other resolutions. But it would permit us to try also to solve this complex of problems by tackling them (1) as a whole; (2) in company with the Canadian, British, French, and Benelux democracies with whom we share most closely these economic, military, monetary, and atomic problems, and who sponsored with us the North Atlantic Pact; and (3) on the man-to-man Federal Union basis of our own U.S. Constitution."

SHOULD TRY AMERICAN APPROACH

"Surely this practical, 100 percent American approach should not be the one approach

to the problem that we should refuse even to try.

"This is the approach that led our forefathers to our Federal Constitution. Much was said of that Constitution in our recent debate in the Senate on the Atlantic Pact, but as I pointed out then it seemed to have been forgotten that our Constitution is itself not a domestic but a foreign policy. It originated as a fundamental foreign policy to govern the relations of sovereign States with each other. It began as an answer to the type of problem we and the other Atlantic democracies now face, how to secure our liberty without another war.

"Our fathers took the Federal Convention road that led to our Constitution when attempts to solve piecemeal their political, economic, and monetary problems failed. We forget that an alliance—the Articles of Confederation, in some respects stronger than the North Atlantic Treaty—failed miserably even among 13 States whose people had more bonds in common than the 12 signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty.

"The dangers of war, depression, unemployment, inflation, led these earliest Atlantic democracies to meet in a Federal Convention in 1787 'as the deputies of 13 independent, sovereign States.' There they worked out our Federal Constitution as the solution of their economic, political, monetary, moral, and spiritual complex of problems, as their common foreign policy, the basis of their future relations with each other.

"Whereas the Articles of Confederation, like the North Atlantic Treaty, formed a mere alliance of governments, the Constitution of the United States formed by a Federal Union of their people. By it they divided powers between the democratic Union government and the separate democratic State governments, with a view to securing thereby the freedom, prosperity, and peace of all their citizens, and keeping all governments, State or Union, obedient to them.

"This citizen-to-citizen Federal Union policy made the people of the 13 States strong enough to survive the Napoleonic wars. With it they put the dollar, then not 'worth a continental,'—on a solid foundation, changed bankruptcy to boom, converted depression into the most fabulous prosperity humanity has ever known.

"Since then, every generation of our people—with one exception—has gone on extending to more States and more men this policy of Federal Union—this policy of an expanding common free government, a common defense force, a common currency, a common postage stamp, a common free market, a common bill of rights, and a common guaranty that the people of each State in the Union, strong or weak, should govern themselves as they pleased in every field they did not expressly transfer to the Union.

"The one exception, the one generation that has not extended the area governed by this Federal Union policy that converts foreign relations into domestic relations and allens into citizens, that generation is our own. We have forgotten that our Constitution began as a foreign policy, as a solution of an interstate economic, monetary, political, and moral problem. We have tried everything but this—and for all our plans and policies, all our debts and all our dead, we find ourselves today, after two world wars, with recovery receding and bankruptcy threatening part of the free, facing a more dangerous depression, a more formidable dictatorship, a third and more disastrous war.

"Is it not time to remember that our Constitution is a great foreign policy, and to explore how we can apply its principles to unite all the free?

"This resolution would but carry out the provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty. By its second article we are now committed, as are all its parties, to 'contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly

international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.' How can we Americans prove more convincingly that we are determined to carry out this treaty than by inviting its cosponsors to study with us the Federal Union principles on which our own freedom is based?

"The application of these federal principles among the Atlantic democracies raises, of course, difficult problems. But it would seem foolish to let one's attitude toward this resolution depend on such questions as how the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of an Atlantic Union should be formed, and exactly what powers should be transferred to it, and by what transition measures, and what powers should be guaranteed to each nation in the union. These questions deserve earnest consideration, but to let anyone's answer to them prevent us from calling the convention would be the height of folly. The only answers to these questions that can have real weight are those that a federal convention itself reaches.

"EXPLORE NOW OR WAIT FOR CRISIS?"

"The only question this resolution raises really is this: Is it wise, or unwise, to call a Federal Convention to bring us answers to all these other questions? Shall we now finally begin to explore the one way out of our troubles that we have not yet even explored? Or shall we continue to neglect this way which all our history teaches us to trust? Shall we begin this exploration now, while we have time to do it carefully? Or shall we take a chance, wait until events force us to move?

"That, I submit, is the only question today—and all the unhappy surprises we have suffered in recent years would seem to leave but one wise answer to that question.

"All this resolution commits us to is to explore earnestly and honestly the possibility of federating with other democracies on the basis of our own constitutional principles. True, a Federal Convention implies a constitutional convention, but impressive as that term is, such a convention cannot possibly commit those who call or attend it to anything more than a serious effort to work out a better system of governing their mutual relations than the existing one. Democracy itself forbids any democracy to commit its people to any constitution before they have seen it. Democracy requires us and every democracy to reserve to the people the right to ratify or reject any agreement or constitution a Federal Convention may draft.

"By calling this Federal Convention we can lose nothing whatever, and we can gain more than anyone can imagine.

"So great has been the success of the federal union system wherever tried, so immense is its prestige, that for us merely to offer to begin to explore its possibilities in the Atlantic community would awe dictators and put new heart in the free more than anything else within our practical reach. By this act we thus tackle, too, the moral and spiritual side of our problem.

"In World War I we sought freedom—but without union. We came to World War II, and again we sought freedom—without union.

"In the hall where the Senate now sits, Daniel Webster first enunciated the immortal principle of 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'

"It moves me deeply as a southerner, speaking today for so many northerners, too, to propose on behalf of us all this resolution that returns to the principle that made us a people, and that proclaims over the ocean, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"

[From Freedom & Union, October 1963]

TEXT OF ORIGINAL (1949) ATLANTIC
CONVENTION RESOLUTION

Whereas the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty have declared themselves "determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law," and "resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security"; and

Whereas they have agreed in article 2 of that treaty to "contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being" and to "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies" and to "encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them"; and

Whereas the principles on which our American freedom is founded are those of Federal union, which were applied for the first time in history in the U.S. Constitution; and

Whereas our Federal Convention of 1787 worked out these principles of union as a means of safeguarding the individual liberty and common heritage of the people of 13 sovereign States, strengthening their free institutions, uniting their defensive efforts, encouraging their economic collaboration, and severally attaining the aims that the democracies of the north Atlantic have set for themselves in the aforesaid treaty; and

Whereas these federal union principles have succeeded impressively in advancing such aims in the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and wherever other free peoples have applied them; and

Whereas the United States, together with the other signatories to the treaty, has promised to bring about a better understanding of these federal principles and has, as their most extensive practitioner and greatest beneficiary, a unique moral obligation to make this contribution to peace; and

Whereas the United States and the other six democracies which sponsored the treaty have, by their success in drafting it and extending it to others, established a precedent for united action toward the attainment of these aims, and the creation of a free and lasting union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President is requested to invite the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, representing their principal political parties, to meet with delegates of the United States in a federal convention to explore how far their peoples, and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union.

KEFAUVER WILL BE BEST REMEMBERED FOR
PIONEERING ATLANTIC UNION

(By Edward J. Meeman)

A great heart snapped because it tried to do too much.

Though he seemed to do it all easily, there must have been a strain which did not show on the surface.

I was one of many whom ESTES KEFAUVER took inside that big heart, and I feel that I learned to know him well.

I first met him when he was representative from Chattanooga. What he talked about, and earnestly, was the need of reforming the procedures in Congress, ideas which he expressed in his book, "Twentieth Century Congress."

Then and there I decided he was a statesman, for there were few votes to be gained by reforming the rules of Congress.

So when he told me he was going to run for the Senate, and asked me to get some Memphis people together to meet him, I was glad to do so.

He said he would fight Ed Crump, the political boss and dictator of Memphis.

"Don't do that," I advised. "One candidate after another has made Crump the issue and that negative policy has failed.

"Just come to Shelby County and present yourself and your program, appeal to the people for their votes as you have a right to do. Don't fight Crump, but if Crump fights you, as I think he will, fight back."

Crump did blast ESTES KEFAUVER, and the candidate fought back. Crump likened him to a pet coon, that goes rummaging in the bureau when you are not looking.

"I may be a pet coon," ESTES rejoined, "but I am not Mr. Crump's pet coon."

The battle was on.

I learned ESTES was about to put on a coonskin cap.

"Don't do that," I pleaded. Such showmanship was distasteful to me.

He ignored my advice, and the whole world knows how effective the stunt was.

ESTES KEFAUVER won. The Crump dictatorship which had ruled Memphis with an iron hand, and had handpicked governors and senators, was smashed, though Crump continued to be a political leader of prestige until his death.

A statesman, they say, must first prove to be a politician who can get elected.

But once elected Senator KEFAUVER proved he was at heart a statesman.

To get the essential support of Edmund Orgill, Memphis wholesale hardware merchant, Senator KEFAUVER had to convince Mr. Orgill he was for Atlantic Union, for it was only to advance this cause that Mr. Orgill was willing to enter politics.

Senator KEFAUVER did pledge himself to advocate Atlantic Union.

But, if he had been merely a politician, how easy it would have been for him to make one speech, introduce a resolution for it, say, "I'm sorry but you see the time is not ripe," and abandon the effort.

But ESTES had become convinced that organic union of free democratic nations of North America and Western Europe was necessary to overcome communism.

He worked for it, fought for it. When, in campaigns, demagogues attacked him for it, he did not flinch.

He was a speaker in demand throughout the country. He could choose his own subject, and often he chose to speak in behalf of Atlantic Union.

He was the principal architect and the leading American figure in organizing the NATO Parliamentarians Conference which has been meeting every year since 1955, the Atlantic Congress of 1959, and the Paris Conference of 1961.

There is an Atlantic Council at work today, with all three living ex-Presidents as its honorary chairmen, and Senator KEFAUVER gets the credit.

The "Parliament of Man" he achieved before his death. The Federation of the Free should come soon from causes he set in motion, and be his monument.

Senator KEFAUVER's exposure of gangsters and his fight on monopoly were spectacular.

But I will wager that he will have a great place in history as the statesman who, more than any other, pioneered in behalf of the Federation of the Free.

KEFAUVER, THE IRREPLACEABLE MAN

(By Elmo Roper)

Most of us have been reared to believe that there is no such thing as the indispensable man—and yet somehow words ap-

proximating those must be found to describe Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. Certainly the phrase which all those who labored for Atlantic Union can agree to is that he was the irreplaceable man.

In writing about ESTES KEFAUVER, it's hard to know where to begin. Perhaps one should begin with his courage. He never hesitated to take an unpopular position when he believed it was the right one. He was the first man in the Congress of the United States to take a public stand for Atlantic Union—at a time when such a view made him solitary indeed. Born in the Old South, he was uncompromisingly devoted to equal rights for Negroes. However much one might have disagreed with any of his views, I doubt if anyone can be found who would deny that most of his positions required courage of the highest order.

But one might as easily begin with his loyalty, his steadfastness. Over the years he never wavered in his support of Atlantic Union, publicly or privately. Called a "nigger-loving one-worlder," in the middle of a hot political campaign, he took the epithet calmly in stride and retreated not an inch from his convictions. Everything he ever told me he would do, during the long battle for congressional acceptance of the idea of an Atlantic Citizens Convention, he did. In a profession of easy promises, he kept every one.

Yet a very good case could be made that the first thing one should mention in connection with Senator KEFAUVER was his vision. Many years ago he realized that rivers, mountains and oceans, color of the skin, and religion were unnatural boundaries for governments. To let any of them assume the unnatural importance they have come to have in this 20th century was to invite—at worst—continued wars and—at best—continued costly rivalries. In a world shrunken by fast transportation and faster communications and where men know how to destroy centuries of civilization in minutes, some stronger cement was needed to bind men together. To ESTES KEFAUVER that more binding cement was a belief in the dignity of every human being. On that foundation, he would have built a broader, more enduring government than this planet has ever seen.

Perhaps the underlying source of ESTES KEFAUVER's strength was his ability to stand alone. During his time in the Senate, he never did anything out of a desire to become a "member of the club" nor did he tailor his views to assure reelection to that exclusive body. He was guided solely by the inner force of his own reasoning powers—which were formidable, coonskin cap to the contrary. No outer force had the power to alter his convictions—or his actions. I suppose what I am describing is, very simply, a man of complete integrity.

Yet there was nothing out of character in ESTES KEFAUVER's walking up the streets of little towns all over America and greeting people with, "I am ESTES KEFAUVER, I am running for the Presidency and I would like to have your support." He was in tune with the aspirations of all mankind—even though he was one of mankind's most exceptional products.

And for many of us, grief over the death of a great man is compounded by the fact that he was to our cause the irreplaceable man.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] was unable to be present today. He asked me specifically to express his own sorrow and his tribute to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, but also to say that at a later date he would express his tribute.

Mr. President, on behalf of the family of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, I

wish to express their gratitude to the many Senators who paid tribute to his life and his service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that sundry editorials and resolutions from among the many published throughout the country, may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean]

A DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVANT

Upon learning of the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, a great many Americans across this broad land knew they had lost a great and stalwart friend in Congress.

Senator KEFAUVER had so often spoken and fought for the consumer—the little man—that innumerable people across the Nation owe him a debt of gratitude.

The tall man with the rough-hewn features belonged to Tennessee, but in a larger sense he belonged to the Nation and the countless people who had shaken his hand in primary campaigns and watched his work in the Senate.

A national magazine once said of him in an editorial: "We are not among his constituents but we wish we were. He is the Senate's ablest investigator. In defense of the general public interest he has been diligent, inventive, intelligent, reliable and, above all, courageous."

For almost a quarter of a century, the senior Senator from Tennessee has battled patiently, continuously, and sometimes alone for the people of his State and Nation and, through his connections with the Inter-parliamentary Union of the Atlantic Alliance, the world.

His efforts were in behalf of their pocket-books, their homes, their farms, and cities, their basic freedoms, their health and hopes of living in a peaceful world.

Senator KEFAUVER went to Washington believing deeply in certain progressive principles. He was determined to do something about them, and the broad sweep of his record attests to how much he did. He went about his work calmly and conscientiously, and that record has been one of courageous resistance against all sorts of pressure, threats, intimidations, and enticements.

He had his share of defeats, legislative and political. And he knew how to take them with dignity. He saw his hopes go glimmering on the floor of the 1952 Democratic convention, and again in 1956. But he took his reversals with characteristic calmness and in good spirit.

The Senator retained from his presidential battles a most devoted personal following which existed to the day of his death. A Tennessean, visiting in almost any State from New Hampshire to Oregon is certain to find Kefauver admirers.

It is no particular mystery how Senator KEFAUVER was able to retain such a strong grip on the public's affections. Much of the strong feeling aroused by this tall Tennessean with a sincere smile and a hearty handshake was his sense of conviction and dedication about political goals—no matter whether it was a presidential primary or getting to the bottom of drug prices.

Senator KEFAUVER was in effect the underdog fighting for all other underdogs. He was a David among the Goliaths of the trusts, the oil cartel, the big pharmaceutical interests, or the crime syndicate. He plunged into fights where there seemed to be no hope of winning, where lesser men would have faltered and turned back.

In his struggles he incurred some powerful enemies, beginning with the machine of "Boss" E. H. Crump, of Memphis, and being

added to when he launched the 1951 Senate crime hearings. In that inquiry he proved that racketeers were infiltrating the big city political machines. His trampling on political toes was to haunt him later, but he suspected as much in the beginning and wasn't deterred.

It was the forthrightness and conviction of Mr. KEFAUVER that cemented a friendship between him and the late Silliman Evans, Sr., publisher of this newspaper from 1937 to 1955. Mr. KEFAUVER wanted to have a greater part in the fight against "Boss" Crump, and decided to give up his House seat and run for the Senate.

He approached Mr. Evans for advice and was told he could count on the newspaper's support if he would make one promise—to shake 500 hands a day until election time. It was a promise Mr. KEFAUVER kept and the Nashville Tennessean became the first major newspaper to give him editorial support for the Senate.

The subsequent victory was political history in Tennessee, and the campaign symbol of a coon-skin cap—made in response to a Crump remark about pet coons—was fixed in the political scene.

This newspaper did not always agree with Mr. KEFAUVER, or he with it. But on basic principles there never was a quarrel. There was never anything but pride for a Senator who ranked with men like George Norris, Bob LaFollette, and others in the quality of statesmanship.

There were occasions when Senator KEFAUVER stood alone or almost alone on a point of legislation, urging in his calm voice a course of wisdom and restraint. In the end, not only the Congress but his critics saw the pertinency and wisdom of his view.

For example, he fought Senator John Bricker's efforts to hamstring the President's treaty-making powers. Of his stand, Senator KEFAUVER said: "It will not be popular, but I cannot in good conscience idly stand by without opposing what I consider a dangerous amendment which would seriously injure our foreign relations."

His fight lasted for 2 years and in 1954 President Eisenhower came out strongly against the amendment, and it quietly died.

As a Senator, Mr. KEFAUVER will be remembered as one of the all-time greats. As a friend, he will be remembered for countless incidents of thoughtfulness and kindness to so many.

He was a relaxing person with whom to visit, for his most striking characteristic was his unhurried pace, his calm manner and methodical speech. He had that quality of being able to sustain two levels of thought, and his concentration at times was such it was mistaken for absentmindedness or deep gloom.

He could chat with a friend in the folksy, homespun language of the general store, or in legal language while exploring the complex mazes of antimonopoly law. With equal facility he could discuss farm problems at the courthouse square or debate with parliamentarians in Europe's gilded halls.

He was a Roosevelt Democrat, a Truman Democrat, a Stevenson Democrat, and a Kennedy Democrat. And many who followed him in his support of others were first, last, and always Kefauver Democrats.

Senator KEFAUVER's death will be mourned throughout the State and Nation and across the sea. Tennessee's loss is the Nation's loss and that of freemen everywhere.

A courageous and dedicated fighter has fallen. The gaping void left by his passing will not be easily filled, for such men come along but seldom.

Senator KEFAUVER has, by his total commitment to public service, human welfare, and better government, left his mark on the pages of contemporary history and in the hearts of all his countrymen.

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 11, 1963]

KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE, 1903-63

On the threshold of another quarter-century of internationally recognized service in the U.S. Congress, ESTES KEFAUVER suddenly is cut down. A fighting heart has stopped. It is with a deep and stinging sadness that we note the death of a great Chattanooga, Tennessean, and American.

East Tennessee courage, determination, and ability drove ESTES KEFAUVER to follow the counsel of poet John Donne: "Go and catch a falling star * * *." He reached high. And he found a towering place indeed.

Not soon will that place be filled, if ever. For his advent to the Senate 15 years ago, after a decade as the Third District Representative in the House, marks a distinct political era in State history; an era now ended.

Senator KEFAUVER's election in 1948—one of many races which stamped him as a campaigner without parallel in Tennessee, and which subjected him to fearful strain—eliminated the Nation's last statewide political machine. His service in bringing representative government to Tennessee was signal among his accomplishments.

Service had long since become his life. As a boy in Madisonville; as a popular University of Tennessee student; at Yale Law School where he paid his own way, he worked to that end.

It was in Chattanooga, as a young lawyer, that his concepts of service were refined and oriented. As chairman of the county planning commission and in numerous other activities he won, in 1937, the Jaycee Young Man of the Year award. Many more honors were to come.

By 1946 he had been named by Collier's magazine as one of the 10 outstanding Members of the House. The first of his two books (the other was "Crime in America"), "20th Century Congress," had been termed "must reading" by Bernard Baruch. In its plea for more efficient congressional machinery, it revealed him as a serious student of government with a broad grasp of the democratic function.

During his sponsorship of countless bills aimed at progress and reform, he was named by Time as one of the 10 best Senators.

And only last Thursday in the Senate, his detailed arguments on the communications satellite issue filled 10 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

He went down as he would have desired, a vigorous battler for principles in which he believed. Throughout his entire career his actions were open and above board. He was not a straddler. Often, he was clairvoyant in his approach to the divisive and controversial questions, such as human relations. He earned both the enmity of powerful groups and parochial epithets of anti-South. But history will judge him, we are sure, as southern, and American, and the core.

During two mighty, fascinating efforts for the presidency, in 1952 and 1956, no one seemed for him but the people. He stormed the primaries, and lost in the smoke-laden rooms.

The voters became acquainted with, and liked, his soft tones and his unassuming directness, his gentle manner and dogged pursuit.

As Democratic nominee for vice president in 1956, he drew further distinction to his State.

He was dedicated from youth to the ideals and objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority. And in his passing, the TVA has lost perhaps its best and most influential friend.

He took an active role in constructive legislation involving every phase of domestic life, as the news columns attest. These efforts alone, climaxed in his crime investi-

gations, made him known in every capital of the world.

But he was equally concerned with the future and strength of the free world. As an original supporter of the Atlantic Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, he styled himself forthrightly and commendably as an internationalist. Often a delegate to world parliamentary councils, he never spared himself in his hectic travels.

It was not easy to capture the essence of ESTES KEFAUVER. There were times when turmoil and relentless pressures of public life closed in around and depressed him. When the campaigns seemed to offer imposing or impossible odds, there occasionally was a withdrawal that accompanied his continuous handshaking.

Incredibly, and sustained by a basic love for people in the mass, he bounced back time and again.

From his boyhood in Madisonville, in the shadow of the Great Smokies, there was about him a friendliness, a strength, and a stern independence of thought that thrust him toward prominence.

By 1960, when he won his third Senate term, he had appeared to achieve that illusory status, political invincibility in the State—despite his implacable enemies. But his punishing life had taken its toll. And today, with 3½ years of his term yet to run, he is gone.

ESTES KEFAUVER carries with him the respect and affection of thousands, even of those who frequently disagreed with him. He has been a force for good in the Nation and in the world. As the late, conservative Republican Senator Charles Tobey, of New Hampshire, said of him, he "had in his heart a need of decency in America." We, who have followed him since the early days, shall treasure his memory.

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Aug. 11, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

Death has cut short the career of ESTES KEFAUVER, senior Member of the Senate from Tennessee.

While his ideologies were sometimes at variance with those of the Commercial Appeal, Senator KEFAUVER was a man of great energy and determination who made his mark in the Nation's political philosophy.

He will be long remembered for his exposure of the crime overlords, for his antitrust investigations, for his advocacy of greater cooperation among the North Atlantic powers, for unwavering support of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for his efforts to reform the electoral college and for his international services in the cause of parliamentary government procedures.

The unusually tall form with outstretched hand became known through vast areas of the country, as well as in Tennessee, in his indefatigable campaigning. He was a master of the handshake and the personal letter, and, at the other extreme, one of the first to build his political image by means of television news.

Let it also be noted that ESTES KEFAUVER was a compassionate man, willing to stop and help a person in need of his special services even when that person was among his political opposition.

ESTES KEFAUVER was distinguished as a student at the University of Tennessee, took his law degree at Yale, and became an attorney in Chattanooga. In 1939 he began to attract some statewide notice when he was named to the finance commissioner post in the cabinet of Gov. Prentice Cooper. A few months later he resigned to become a candidate for the House, following death of Representative Sam McReynolds. He won and was a Member of Congress continuously until his death.

In 1948, he won nationwide attention. E. H. Crump undertook to replace a Senator, who declined to bow out. The old Senator and the new Crump candidate divided votes previously united and the independent Member of Congress, Representative KEFAUVER, wearing a coonskin cap as a symbol of defiance, moved to the upper House.

He was untypical of Tennessee political figures and he was a "loner" in Washington, where length of service, committee compromises, and trading for votes are the normal routes to high standing.

With this background in politics it is all the more remarkable that Senator KEFAUVER twice came close to the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party. In 1952, he was the leading candidate on the first convention vote and he gained strength on the second. In the 1956 convention he defeated Senator John F. Kennedy for the vice presidential nomination.

The Kefauver appeal was that of the single human being standing up to the great strength of organized politics, and big business, and all of the other powerful forces that bear down on the individual.

He was cast in an original mold and another like him is unlikely to appear soon.

[From the Nashville Banner, Aug. 10, 1963]
SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Shock and regret mark the passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, keenly felt in his home State, and shared throughout the wide circle of his personal and political acquaintance. Tennessee had not known the extent of his ill health, nor was there previous awareness—even on his part—of a serious heart condition.

His career in public life embraced more than a quarter a century, most of it in Congress; first as representative of the Third Tennessee District, and latterly in the Senate. In 1956, he was the Democratic nominee for Vice President as Adlai Stevenson's running mate.

On their senior Senator, fellow-Tennesseans had strong convictions, pro and con. His liberalism, closely allied with that branch of the national party councils, attracted its following—and repelled others. But he did not disguise extreme leanings, and made no pretense of conservatism.

Senator KEFAUVER had his place in the political history of Tennessee and the country. Constituents knew where he stood, and there was no deviation on his part. As a political strategist in his own behalf, he knew the rules of that game, and employed them expertly for his own political survival.

Tennessee knew him, boy and man, for most of his 60 years. His record in public life supplies its own basis for evaluation.

Certainly a public figure does not fall without leaving a void—and there is one today in the State's congressional delegation. To his family, the heartfelt condolences of sympathizers, everywhere.

[Telegram from the Memphis Press-Scimitar]
ESTES KEFAUVER AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who died unexpectedly this morning, came nearer being elected President of the United States than any other southerner since the Civil War.

He handshook himself into presidential primary victories all over the country in 1952, and he was vice presidential nominee in 1956.

But he couldn't quite achieve the Democratic presidential nomination. In large part, this was due to the fact that he did not court the party politicians as much as he did the voters. But also it was his misfortune to make his bid at the time when Adlai Stevenson was charming the delegates. And if he had been nominated, he might well

have failed to overcome another charmer—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower—but it would have been a real fight, for KEFAUVER had his own charm, and he had dogged determination.

KEFAUVER got his big boost into the national picture right here in Memphis when, in 1948, a committee of influential and hardworking Memphians got together to help elect him to the Senate for the first time. They beat the drums for him here and carried the campaign eastward even into middle Tennessee. KEFAUVER didn't win in Shelby that first time, but he got an unusually large vote for any candidate opposed by the Shelby political machine, and it helped him win in a three-cornered race, and his victory, along with that of Gordon Browning for Governor, broke the power of the machine in both Shelby and the State.

KEFAUVER's espousal of the principle that the Western democracies should draw closer together politically and economically in order to be able to stand against Communist aggression won him the support of Edmund Orgill. Orgill, later to become mayor of Memphis, had been converted to the idea of Atlantic Union by Clarence Streit, longtime apostle of a United Atlantic Community of nations.

Orgill was a leader in the Kefauver committee of 1948.

After his election, KEFAUVER introduced a resolution calling for a convention to explore the possibilities of closer union among the peoples of the Atlantic nations. He persisted until such a convention was finally held.

As a Tennessee millhand said during KEFAUVER's third senatorial campaign in 1960, "That fellow (KEFAUVER) really done what he said he would."

KEFAUVER did a lot more in Congress. He exposed crime in the first televised Senate hearings.

He was one of the first Members of Congress to propose legislation to modernize the electoral college and make it more representative of the will of the people in election of Presidents.

Up to his death, he was waging a continuing fight against the high price of prescription drugs.

Although he was a political power in Tennessee, and kept his own fences mended, he did not seek to form a machine to control State politics in general.

He was content to call on his forces (and they were powerful) only in his own campaigns. His reluctance to pick a Governor candidate last year made it impossible for his friends to get together on a candidate who might have defeated Frank Clement. It was too late in the campaign when he announced his personal support of P. R. Olgiati.

KEFAUVER went his own way. As he said when the late E. H. Crump called him a pet coon in the 1948 campaign, "at least I'm not Mr. Crump's pet coon." He stepped on a good many toes, but that didn't keep him from the path he set for himself.

He did not join with the many southern Members of Congress who signed the southern manifesto in protest against the Supreme Court's 1954 segregation decision. He upheld the Supreme Court decision as the final word as to what is the law of the land. That made him unpopular with many—yet he won reelection handily in 1960.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a politician and statesman in the American tradition of Abraham Lincoln and Cordell Hull. He didn't come up from a log cabin, but he lived as a youth in the upper floor of a store building in the small town of Madisonville, Tenn. He showed ambition and leadership early at the University of Tennessee, where he was graduated in 1924, holding many student offices, including presidency of the student body. He

made a name for himself in the House of Representatives where he served 10 years before aspiring to the Senate.

His shoes are big ones to fill.

KEFAUVER's heart beat sincerely for the world and its people.

[Telegram from the Knoxville News Sentinel]

ESTES KEFAUVER

As are all public figures, ESTES KEFAUVER was controversial. He was either admired or heartily disliked. But his admirers far, far exceeded his detractors.

Chief cause of this detraction was his bold, frank and honest position on every issue; often this placed him on the unpopular side. More often than not, however, he turned out to be right.

This Monroe County son, a graduate of both the University of Tennessee and Yale, burst on the public scene back in 1939, when he was appointed State finance commissioner by Gov. Prentice Cooper. In the brief period of his 4 months in that office he instituted a number of reforms that are still on the books. He authored the first State law providing the formula for consolidation of various local governments functions.

Then he went to Congress from the Third District, where he served brilliantly for nearly 10 years before going up to the Senate.

In the House, KEFAUVER quickly established himself as a leader of young turks who saw many weaknesses in the processes of our Government and fought for remedies. One object of a persistent attack has been the outmoded electoral college method of choosing our President. Some day that battle will be won: it is too bad KEFAUVER didn't live to see it.

In 1948 ESTES KEFAUVER teamed up with Gordon Browning, KEFAUVER running for the Senate seat occupied by Tom Stewart and Browning challenging Governor McCord. Both Stewart and McCord were stooges of Ed Crump, who at that time was political boss of Tennessee. KEFAUVER and Browning broke Crump's power and were elected.

It was in that campaign that KEFAUVER gained national attention: Crump called KEFAUVER a pet coon and ESTES capitalized on the libelous phrase by immediately wearing a coonskin cap as he stumped the State.

In his 15 years in the Senate, KEFAUVER took on the big bosses and syndicates of organized crime including the boxing and wrestling rackets; he was a major factor in breaking up monopolistic business combines: He exposed the rigged bidding of huge industrial corporations; and he authored a law (watered down by the opposition before it was enacted) bringing about reforms in the drugs-manufacturing business. He was still fighting his war on the drugs manufacturers at his death; he had through the anti-monopoly committee he headed, ordered the companies to bring in their records on price-cutting practices in South America.

In 1952 KEFAUVER ran for the Democratic nomination for President, and came within an eyelash of winning it. He dared to challenge the party leadership, and that proved to be costly. "KEF," as he was called by his close friends, never quite recovered from that disappointment.

Yet 4 years later he came back and won the No. 2 spot on the national ticket with Adlai Stevenson beating out Kennedy. Of course no Democrat could have defeated President Eisenhower that year; Ike even carried KEFAUVER's own State and own voting precinct; threatening clouds of war frightened every parent in America.

Few public figures have had greater personal charm and magnetism than ESTES KEFAUVER. His handshake was his trademark; his memory for names was elephantine. During his political life of nearly a quarter of a century he wrote literally thousands of little personal notes to constituents

in Tennessee and to friends all over the world.

Someday, we are confident, historians will refer to ESTES KEFAUVER as one of the outstanding congressional figures of our time.

To his lovely and capable widow, the former Nancy Pigott of Scotland and the three daughters and son, we extend deep condolences; with the vast horde of KEFAUVER friends we join in solemn salute to a dedicated public servant.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 11, 1963]

BATTLER AGAINST BIGNESS

In a period when it was unfashionable to be emotionally involved about anything, ESTES KEFAUVER would come into his Senate office and confide to his staff that he had not slept all night because of worry over some fresh aspect of the centralization of power in big government, big industry, or big labor. He epitomized all that was most valid in the old Populist tradition of concern for individual rights against the suffocating encroachments of bigness. The effervescence of his efforts made him something of an anachronism in the cool atmosphere of the New Frontier, but every American is the beneficiary of his dedication, his indomitability, and the primacy he assigned human values.

The disposition will be to remember him for his much publicized investigations—an image unjust to the substantial legislative accomplishments that are his true memorial. The Kefauver-Celler bill of 1950 tightening antitrust curbs on corporate mergers was the fruit of a 5-year drive. Similar tenacity pushed through the monumental drug reform bill last year—a task that depended for its completion on the thalidomide tragedies but that never would have been entertained at all without his persistence. At his death he was fighting for an inquiry into a trade war obstructing the distribution of low-priced U.S. drugs in Latin America. Undoubtedly the remembrance that would please him most now would be a decision by his Senate colleagues to go ahead with this project he considered essential to the basic aims of the Alliance for Progress—the same aims that illumined his life.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 12, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

One element in the tragedy of ESTES KEFAUVER's death is that it occurred when the Senator was becoming an increasingly effective Member of the Senate.

The Tennessean reached a peak of popularity, no doubt, in his 1951 crime investigation which put his face before millions of television viewers. Thereafter his coonskin cap was in the presidential ring twice, and he won 14 of 17 presidential preference primaries in 1952. But political popularity is not the same thing as political effectiveness, nor does presidential ambition necessarily coincide with accomplishment.

His publicized crime hearings had rather limited immediate results, though they made it easier years later for the Kennedy administration to promote new Federal anti-racketeering laws. By contrast, after 1956 Senator KEFAUVER led substantial and fruitful investigations of monopoly practices and also of the drug industry. Having apparently set presidential hopes aside, he concentrated on senatorial tasks at hand, and did well.

Senator KEFAUVER was a self-proclaimed liberal. He was a staunch supporter of the Tennessee Valley Authority for his own region, and of economic legislation benefiting other areas that remained depressed. His foreign policy views were generally enlightened. And no one could question the courage of a southern Senator who, in a vicious 1960 reelection campaign, refused to give an

inch of ground to an opponent who attacked him accurately as a civil rights supporter and disreputably as "soft" on communism.

The late boss, Edward H. Crump, called Mr. KEFAUVER a pet coon of advanced causes when he ran for the Senate in 1948. Mr. KEFAUVER replied that "I may be a pet coon, but I'm not Mr. Crump's pet coon." Tennessee voters repeatedly complimented his independence of mind, and we hope the State may do as well in picking his successor.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Aug. 11, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

Only hours before his sudden death at 60, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, was engaged in a spirited debate with his colleagues, this time on the subject of the new Communications Satellite Corp. As usual, though overwhelmingly outvoted on the issue, he spoke as a liberal championing the public interest against what he regarded as the forces of monopoly.

This was the position he adhered to throughout his lively and distinguished career as a Senator. There were many who thought him wrong on more than a few occasions, but he held fast to his views. And there was a time—especially after his famous televised crime investigation in 1951—when a lot of Americans began to think of him in terms of presidential possibilities.

Senator KEFAUVER frankly so thought of himself, and he made no bones about it. Tall, personable, full of vigor, and ambitious, he is said to have set his heart upon the White House as far back as his high school days. And twice—in 1952 and 1956—he did his best (and rather impressively despite the gimmick of the coonskin cap) to win the Democratic presidential nomination. But he lost out both times to Adlai Stevenson. He did manage, however, to beat out a young man named John F. Kennedy for the honor of being Mr. Stevenson's running mate 7 years ago.

It is hard to believe that this man, who only the other day was so energetically arguing for what he believed to be right, is now suddenly gone from us. Whether one agreed with him or not, he was an altogether likable and hard-working legislator respected by all his colleagues. The Senate is the poorer for his passing, and so is Tennessee.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 11, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

Along with Jackson, Johnson, and Cordell Hull, ESTES KEFAUVER will go down in history as one of the memorable political figures from Tennessee. He was like his great predecessors in his Senate seat in one signal respect. During his 9 years in the House and nearly 15 years in the Senate he seldom took a sectionalist view but responded in national terms to the great issues of his time.

Millions of Americans remember ESTES KEFAUVER as the indefatigable presidential hopeful in 1952 and 1956. His large and open hand was as much a campaign emblem as his coonskin cap. Though he had broad popular support—he won 14 out of 17 primaries in 1952—he incurred the wrath of powerful Democrats through his exposure of underworld contacts with political machines. Even so, his rank-and-file following was large enough to gain him the vice presidential nomination in 1956 over John F. Kennedy.

Senator KEFAUVER was among the first to demonstrate the potency of television in politics. His homely visage and soft voice were fixed in the national mind through the televised hearings of his Senate crime investigation in 1950 and 1951. His courage and independence, no less than his halting manner, left an impression on the country—and also irked some of his colleagues in the Senate inner club.

Every legislature needs individualists as well as team players, and if Mr. KEFAUVER was a loner, his insurgency was directed to important purposes. He boldly risked ostracism by refusing to sign the southern manifesto calling for massive resistance to desegregation. As a champion of consumers, he took on steel companies, big drug firms, and even the administration in the case of the Telstar communications corporation. His Senate Antitrust Subcommittee hearings first familiarized the country with the concept of "administered prices" and his relentless effort had much to do with the adoption last year of the drug reform law.

During his years in the House, the lanky Tennessean was especially concerned with problems of procedural reform. Much of what he said then has become freshly relevant as Congress moves slowly to reconsidering the flaws in its mechanical structure.

In his zeal, Mr. KEFAUVER could be mistaken but neither his methods nor his arguments were petty. The fact that he prevailed over the entrenched Crump machine and over venomous bigots in Tennessee spoke well for his State and his region. He was a big man, and his death leaves a big void.

[From the Daily Post Athenian, Athens, Tenn.]

"THE TALL TENNESSEAN" IS DEAD

America is in mourning.

One of her alltime great sons is dead.

Several years ago this corner dubbed ESTES KEFAUVER, "The Tall Tennessean" but we didn't know how tall he really was until his towering frame crashed in death Saturday morning and a nation felt the tremors.

It is a long way from a rambling white house on Main Street in Madisonville, a little town in east Tennessee, to the White House on historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's capital. But ESTES almost made it.

In fact, he did make it. Political powers turned him back as its occupant in 1952, but they turned him over to the people and he has occupied their hearts ever since as no man has been able to do.

Perhaps fate denied him the presidency and acclaimed him spokesman for the rank and file of the country.

That's what he was.

From New Hampshire to Florida, from Minnesota to California, from Chattanooga to Seattle, "The Tall Tennessean" was the voice of the man who had something to say and could not be heard above the clamor of the crowd.

KEFAUVER spoke for him.

His message was heard and heeded.

To say that he was always liked would be an injustice to him. At times he was bitterly opposed in his contentions but he never swerved from his course. He never violated his own conscience and never betrayed a cause he represented.

These causes ranged widely. They spread from championing TVA, battling big monopolies for the little businessman, opposing organized crime, supporting congressional reforms, revealing facts in foreign affairs on a national level to establishing a tobacco market, getting appropriations for a bridge over Tennessee River and investigating insurance claims on the local scene.

These things made him a champion.

KEFAUVER parlayed a coonskin cap and a ready handshake into a bareheaded, hard-working trademark which made him welcome on a trout stream in nearby Tellico Mountains or by a bubbling fountain in the gilded halls of Europe.

He was that unique figure in politics known as a loner, but his colleagues, both friend and foe, paid him the tribute of listening and generally voting with him.

Indeed the letter "T" summarizes the life of KEFAUVER—tall, talented, thorough, trustworthy, and triumphant.

There is a quietness now at a rambling white house in Madisonville, Tenn., and a flag of 50 stars is flying at half-mast at the White House in Washington, D.C.

It should be that way.

ESTES KEFAUVER, "The Tall Tennessean," has fallen in death.

[From the Memphis Press-Scimitar, Aug. 14, 1963]

KEFAUVER'S HEART BEAT SINCERELY FOR THE WORLD AND ITS PEOPLE

(By Edward J. Meeman)

A great heart has snapped because it tried to do too much. Though he seemed to do it all easily, there must have been a strain which did not show on the surface.

I was one of many whom he took inside that big heart, and I feel that I learned to know it well.

I first met ESTES KEFAUVER when he was Representative in Congress from Chattanooga. What he talked about, and earnestly, was the need of reforming the procedures in Congress, ideas which he expressed in his book "Twentieth Century Congress." Right then and there I decided he was a statesman, for there were few votes to be gained by reforming the rules of Congress.

So when, a little later, he told me that he was going to run for the Senate, and asked me to get some Memphis people together to meet him, I was glad to do so.

He said he would fight Ed Crump, the political boss and dictator of Memphis. "Don't do that," I advised. "One candidate after another has made Crump the issue and that negative policy has failed. Just come to Shelby County and present yourself and your program, appeal to the people for their votes as you have a right to do. Don't fight Crump, but if Crump fights you, as I think he will, fight back."

CRUMP VERSUS KEFAUVER

Crump did blast KEFAUVER, and KEFAUVER fought back. Crump likened KEFAUVER to a pet coon, that goes rummaging in the bureau drawer when you are not looking. "I may be a pet coon," ESTES rejoined, "but I am not Mr. Crump's pet coon." The battle was on.

I learned that ESTES was about to put on a coonskin cap. "Don't do that," I pleaded. Such showmanship was distasteful to me. He ignored my advice, and the whole world knows how effective the stunt was.

KEFAUVER won. The Crump dictatorship which had ruled Memphis with an iron hand, and the State with handpicked Governors and Senators, was smashed, though Crump continued to be a political leader of prestige until his death.

A statesman, they say, must first prove himself to be a politician who can get elected. But once elected, KEFAUVER proved that he was at heart a statesman. In order to get the indispensable support of Edmund Orgill, Memphis wholesale hardware merchant, KEFAUVER had to convince Orgill that he was for Atlantic union, for it was only to advance this cause that Orgill was willing to enter politics.

KEFAUVER did pledge himself to advocate Atlantic union.

[From the Delta Democrat-Times, Aug. 12, 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

There is much talk about the new conservatism of the South. It certainly exists, but the political life of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee, who died Saturday, illustrated the other side of this political coin. A liberal who never backed away from

the full implications of his position, he helped radically change the political structure of his home State in a way which will be hard to alter.

Senator KEFAUVER came to senatorial power, after years of relative obscurity as a Congressman, by taking on the political organization of Memphis political boss Ed Crump and decisively smashing it. Thereafter he was never seriously challenged, although he was an ardent civil rights advocate, persistent enemy of abuses in big business and a favorite of many liberals across the Nation.

He kept his political base at home secure by the kind of 18-hour-a-day, down-to-the-people kind of campaign which reached the mass of the voters even as his policies were alienating many of the men who once dominated Tennessee. He made his reputation as a battler for the little man and as an enemy of organized crime, and the people remembered this when they returned him to office again and again.

ESTES KEFAUVER came close to the presidential nomination once, as close as any southerner has come since his fellow Tennessean Andrew Johnson left the White House almost 100 years ago. He missed, as much because his style of campaigning could not be spread over 180 million people as anything else, but for a moment the Nation's highest political honor seemed within his grasp. Yet while the Nation did not elect him President, the people of Tennessee still demonstrated their loyalty by keeping him in the Senate.

ESTES KEFAUVER is dead now, cut off at an early age as it is measured in the U.S. Senate. Up to the moment of his death he was still battling for the people who elected him, fighting for a curb on what he saw as the abuse of power and control in the drug industry. In his life he proved a southerner of liberal persuasion could be elected. It is a testimonial to his influence that his death will not change this, and that his successor will almost certainly be a man whose political teeth were cut as part of his organization.

STATEMENT BY MR. ARTHUR J. FREUND, CRIMINAL LAW SECTION, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

It is with deep and profound regret that we of the Criminal Law Section of the American Bar Association note the tragic and untimely death of the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a close personal friend of many of us of this section. He was a constant supporter of our efforts, and he made enormous contributions to the administration of criminal justice. He was a consistent and indefatigable advocate and statesman in the cause of equal justice under the law. It was ESTES KEFAUVER who awakened the conscience of America to the ruthless course of organized crime throughout our Nation. With great courage, he exposed to public view the most notorious participants of this dangerous and devastating group who would destroy the foundations of honest law enforcement. In this, he displayed the skill, energy and dedication, the high degree of intelligence and unceasing devotion that always characterized his long service to his State and country.

ESTES KEFAUVER has, over the years, been a devoted friend of this section of criminal law. He was frequently in consultation with us, and we often came to him for his important assistance. A great statesman in so many varied fields of government, our deceased friend was a lawyer in the highest traditions of our profession and, with all, a courteous, kindly, and friendly gentleman. We shall miss him, and we shall miss our loyal and competent supporter, and we mourn his loss.

We convey to the widow and children of ESTES KEFAUVER our heartfelt sympathy and condolence, and we authorize our section to appropriately express our sorrow and regret of the death of this great man at the memorial exercises to be held in the U.S. Senate to mark his final departure.

RESOLUTION BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, MEMPHIS AND SHELBY COUNTY YOUNG DEMOCRATS ASSOCIATION

Whereas the passing of a statesman of firm and uncompromising ideals, devoted to his calling, his country, and the people whom he served, is always a profound loss to the citizens of the United States; and

Whereas Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, senior Senator from the State of Tennessee, was such a man: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Memphis and Shelby County Young Democrats Association conveys its sympathy to the family of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER on the sad occasion of his untimely death; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and to Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS, dean of the Tennessee congressional delegation.

HAROLD C. STREIBICH,
President.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE IRISH SOCIETY OF MEMPHIS, AUGUST 18, 1963

Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, then Tennessee's most distinguished son, died suddenly at Bethesda, Md., August 10, 1963, after 24 years of superlative service to the Nation and the State of Tennessee in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, as Representative and Senator always adhered to that which he believed to be right and best for the welfare of his country regardless of political expediency and was a man of outstanding moral courage and political honesty; and

Whereas this great statesman was a true friend of the Irish Society of Memphis and its kindred organizations: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Irish Society of Memphis, That in the death of Senator KEFAUVER this State and this Nation have lost a capable, patriotic, and faithful official and that the society shall always honor his memory; and be it further

Resolved, That the society extends its deepest sympathy to his bereaved family and that his widow be furnished with a copy of this resolution and that copies thereof be transmitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

JOHN T. DWYER,
President.
THOMAS L. ROBINSON,
C. P. J. MOONEY,
Committeemen.

RESOLUTION BY THE BOARD OF CITY COMMISSIONERS, FARGO, N. DAK.

Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, distinguished senior U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, has passed on to his eternal rest unexpectedly shocking and saddening the entire Nation and free men everywhere; and

Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during his lifetime, distinguished himself as the foremost fighter for good clean government and was renowned as a fighter for the rights of the individual human being without regard to race, color, or creed; and

Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, waged a courageous lifelong battle against injustice and human suffering and fought continually for a better society for all mankind; and

Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during the course of his distinguished ca-

reer visited the city of Fargo, N. Dak., on many occasions and had earned the admiration, respect, and friendship of many citizens of our city including Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, who in 1952 earnestly fought to advance Senator KEFAUVER to the Presidency of the United States and received the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER at a historic gathering in the Red River Valley near Buxton, N. Dak., at which nearly 30,000 people were in attendance, at which time Senator KEFAUVER convinced the people of this area of his knowledge and understanding of our problems and of his deep interest and concern for the well-being of this area; and

Whereas in the year 1957, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER earnestly and devotedly took the floor of the U.S. Senate championing the cause of disaster-stricken Fargo in its recovery efforts following the tornado disaster of 1957; and

Whereas Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, at all times responded to the needs of those in distress wherever the call may emanate and served nobly, courageously, and at great sacrifice to his own health and personal comfort; and

Whereas it is the considered feeling of the Fargo City Commission that ESTES KEFAUVER has earned himself a secure niche in the history of our country as a great American statesman who served his beloved Nation and the cause of mankind with rare devotion and was indeed the very embodiment of the essence of American patriotism and was rightfully recognized as a friend of all mankind in the continuing human struggle for a better society for each and every individual human being no matter where he lives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Fargo City Commission does hereby express their deep and profound sorrow and sadness upon the untimely passing of that great American statesman, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, who had endeared himself to the people of this area and the city of Fargo by his many acts of friendship and loyalty as manifested throughout the years; and be it further

Resolved, That this expression of sorrow upon the passing of our beloved friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, be spread upon the permanent minutes of the Fargo City Commission and that certified copies be forwarded to the family of our dear friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, and that copies be furnished to the presiding officer of the U.S. Senate, the congressional delegation of the State of North Dakota for introduction into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and also to the Governor of the State of Tennessee and the two U.S. Senators from the State of Tennessee, with the request that this resolution be called to the attention of the Tennessee Legislature and the press, radio, and television of the State of Tennessee.

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor and President.

M. C. FREMSTAD,
Deputy City Auditor.

Attest:

ORDER FOR RECESS TO MONDAY NEXT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of its business today, the Senate, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, take a recess until 12 noon on Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETING ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the sub-

committee considering the so-called arts bill of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be permitted to hold hearings on the afternoon of Wednesday, October 30.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DIXIE PROJECT, UTAH

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 26) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior, to construct, operate, and maintain the Dixie project, Utah, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consider Calendar No. 566, H.R. 7885.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 7885) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Minnesota.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Foreign Assistance Act of 1963".

PART I

Chapter I—Policy

SEC. 101. Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, is amended as follows:

(a) In the chapter heading strike out the words "SHORT TITLE AND".

(b) Section 101, which relates to short title, is repealed.

(c) Amend section 102, which relates to statement of policy, by—

(1) striking out "should emphasize" in the last sentence of the seventh paragraph and substituting "shall emphasize";

(2) striking out "Finally, the" in the first sentence of the last paragraph and substituting "The";

(3) inserting "(including private enterprise within such countries)" immediately after "countries" in the first sentence of the last paragraph thereof, and

(4) adding the following after such last paragraph:

"It is the sense of the Congress that assistance authorized by this Act should be extended to or withheld from the government of South Vietnam, in the discretion of the President, to further the objectives of victory in the war against communism and the return to their homeland of Americans involved in that struggle."

Chapter 2—Development assistance

Title I—Development Loan Fund

SEC. 102. Section 201 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to general authority with respect to development loans, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(f) No assistance shall be furnished under this title unless the President determines that the project for which such assistance is requested is taken into account in the eco-

conomic development of the requesting country, including an analysis of current human and material resources, together with a projection of the ultimate objectives of the project with respect to the overall economic development of such country, and specifically provides for appropriate participation by private enterprise."

Title II—Development Grants and Technical Cooperation

Sec. 103. Title II of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to development grants and technical cooperation, is amended as follows:

(a) In section 211, which relates to general authority, add the following at the end of subsection (a): "No program of technical assistance shall be undertaken under this title unless prior to the commencement thereof the recipient country shall have agreed to accept responsibility for the continuation and financing of such program after the expiration of such reasonable time, which shall not exceed seven years, as shall be specified in the agreement, or unless such program is scheduled for completion within such time."

(b) In section 212, which relates to authorization, strike out "1963" and "\$300,000,000" and substitute "1964" and "\$225,000,000", respectively.

(c) Amend section 214, which relates to American schools and hospitals abroad, as follows:

(1) In subsection (a) strike out "use, in addition to other funds available for such purposes, funds made available for the purposes of section 211 for" and substitute the word "furnish".

(2) In subsection (b) strike out "to use" and "foreign currencies accruing to the United States Government under any Act, for purposes of subsection (a) of this section and for" and substitute "to furnish" before the word "assistance".

(3) Add the following new subsections:

"(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President, in addition to other funds available for such purposes, such amounts as may be necessary from time to time to carry out the purposes of this section, which amounts shall remain available until expended."

"(d) The President is authorized to use, in addition to other funds available for such purposes, foreign currencies accruing to the United States Government under any Act, for purposes of this section."

Title III—Investment Guaranties

Sec. 104. Title III of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to investment guaranties, is amended as follows:

(a) Amend section 221(b), which relates to general authority, as follows:

(1) In the first sentence after "wholly owned" insert "(determined without regard to any shares, in aggregate less than 5 per centum of the total of issued and subscribed share capital, required by law to be held by persons other than the parent corporation)".

(2) In paragraph (1) strike out "\$1,300,000,000" in the proviso and substitute "\$2,500,000,000".

(3) In paragraph (2) strike out "fraud or misconduct" in the second proviso and substitute "fraud, misconduct, or negligence".

(4) In paragraph (2) strike out "1964" in the fourth proviso and substitute "1965".

(b) Amend section 222(a), which relates to general provisions, by striking out "section 221(b)" and substituting "sections 221(b) and 224".

(c) Amend section 222(b), which relates to general provisions, by striking out "section 221(b)" in both places it appears and substituting "sections 221(b) and 224".

(d) Amend section 222(d), which relates to general provisions, to read as follows:

"(d) Any payments made to discharge liabilities under guaranties issued under sections 221(b) and 224 of this part, sections 202(b) and 413(b) (4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and section 111(b) (3) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended (exclusive of informational media guaranties), shall be paid first out of fees referred to in section 222(b) as long as such fees are available, and thereafter shall be paid out of funds, if any, realized from the sale of currencies or other assets acquired in connection with any payments made to discharge liabilities under such guaranties as long as such funds are available, and thereafter shall be paid out of funds heretofore appropriated for the purpose of discharging liabilities under the aforementioned guaranties, and thereafter out of funds realized from the sale of notes issued under section 413(b) (4) (F) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and section 111(c) (2) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended, and finally out of funds hereafter made available pursuant to section 222(f)."

(e) Amend section 222(e), which relates to general provisions, to read as follows:

"(e) All guaranties issued prior to July 1, 1956, all guaranties issued under sections 202(b) and 413(b) (4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and all guaranties heretofore or hereafter issued pursuant to this title shall be considered contingent obligations backed by the full faith and credit of the Government of the United States of America. Funds heretofore obligated under the aforementioned guaranties (exclusive of informational media guaranties) together with the other funds made available for the purposes of this title shall constitute a single reserve for the payment of claims in accordance with section 222(d) of this part."

(f) Amend section 224, which relates to housing projects in Latin American countries, as follows:

(1) In subsection (b) strike out "\$60,000,000" and substitute "\$150,000,000".

(2) Strike out subsection (c).

Title V—Development Research

Sec. 105. Section 241 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to development research, is amended by inserting "(a)" after the section heading and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) Funds made available to carry out this section may be used to conduct research into the problems of controlling population growth and to provide technical and other assistance to cooperating countries in carrying out programs of population control."

Title VI—Alliance for Progress

Sec. 106. Title VI of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to the Alliance for Progress, is amended as follows:

(a) Amend section 251, which relates to general authority, as follows:

(1) In subsection (e) strike out "economical" and substitute "economically".

(2) In subsection (f) strike out "Agency for International Development" and substitute "agency primarily responsible for administering part I".

(3) Add the following new subsection (g):

"(g) In order to carry out the policies of this Act, the President shall, when appropriate, assist in promoting the organization, implementation, and growth of the cooperative movement in Latin America as a fundamental measure toward the strengthening of democratic institutions and practices and economic and social development under the Alliance for Progress."

(b) Amend section 252, which relates to authorization as follows:

(1) Insert the following after the words "available until expended": "Provided, That any unappropriated portion, not to exceed \$50,000,000, of the amount authorized to be appropriated for any such fiscal year may be appropriated in any subsequent fiscal year during the above period in addition to the amount otherwise authorized to be appropriated for such subsequent fiscal year. The funds appropriated pursuant to this section".

(2) Strike out "and which" before ", except for".

(3) Insert following "1963" the second time it appears the words "and not to exceed \$75,000,000 of the funds appropriated pursuant to this section for use beginning in fiscal year 1964".

(c) Amend section 253, which relates to fiscal provisions, by inserting immediately after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "All receipts in foreign currencies from loans made under this title or for nonmilitary assistance purposes under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, or any Act repealed thereby, shall, notwithstanding the provisions of section 612 of this Act or the provisions of any other Act, be available, in addition to other funds available for such purposes, for loans on such terms and conditions as the President may specify to carry out the purposes of subsection (g) of section 251 of this title, and the President may, notwithstanding the provisions of any other Act, reserve such currencies in such amounts (not to exceed \$25,000,000 in any fiscal year) and for such periods as he shall determine to be necessary to provide for the programs authorized by said subsection (g)."

(d) After section 253, which relates to fiscal provisions, insert the following new section:

"SEC. 254. RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE.—None of the funds made available under authority of this Act may be used to furnish assistance to any country covered by this title in which the government has come to power through the forcible overthrow of a prior government which has been chosen in free and democratic elections unless the President determines that withholding such assistance would be contrary to the national interest."

Chapter 3—International organizations and programs

Sec. 107. Section 302 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to international organizations and programs, is amended by striking out "1963" and "\$148,900,000" and substituting "1964" and "\$136,050,000", respectively.

Chapter 4—Supporting assistance

Sec. 108. Section 402 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to supporting assistance, is amended by striking out "1963" and "\$415,000,000" and substituting "1964" and "\$400,000,000", respectively.

Chapter 5—Contingency fund

Sec. 109. Section 451 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to the contingency fund, is amended by striking out "1963" and "\$300,000,000" and substituting "1964" and "\$175,000,000", respectively.

PART II

Chapter 1—Policy

Sec. 201. Chapter 1 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, hereby redesignated "Policy" and section 501, which relates to short title, is hereby deleted.

Chapter 2—Military assistance

SEC. 202. Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to military assistance, is amended as follows:

(a) In section 504(a), which relates to authorization, strike out "the fiscal years 1962 and 1963" and "\$1,700,000,000 for each fiscal year, which sums" and substitute "fiscal year 1964" and "\$1,300,000,000, which", respectively.

(b) In section 510(a), which relates to special authority, strike out "1963" in the first and second sentences and substitute "1964".

(c) In section 511, which relates to restrictions on military aid to Latin America, strike out "\$57,500,000" and substitute "\$50,000,000, of which \$25,000,000 may be available during each fiscal year for assistance to an international military force under the control of the Organization of American States".

PART III

Chapter 1—General provisions

SEC. 301. Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to general provisions, is amended as follows:

(a) Section 601(b), which relates to encouragement of private enterprise, is amended as follows:

(1) At the end of paragraph (3), strike out "and".

(2) In paragraph (4), strike out "wherever appropriate" and insert in lieu thereof "to the maximum extent practicable", and strike out the period at the end thereof and substitute a semicolon.

(3) Add the following new paragraphs at the end thereof:

"(5) take appropriate steps to discourage nationalization, expropriation, confiscation, seizure of ownership or control, of private investment and discriminatory or other actions having the effect thereof, undertaken by countries receiving assistance under this Act, which divert available resources essential to create new wealth, employment, and productivity in those countries and otherwise impair the climate for new private investment essential to the stable economic growth and development of those countries; and

"(6) utilize wherever practicable the services of United States private enterprise (including, but not limited to, the services of experts and consultants in technical fields such as engineering)."

(b) Section 611(b), which relates to completion of plans and cost estimates, is amended by striking out "circular A-47 of the Bureau of the Budget" and substituting "the Memorandum of the President dated May 15, 1962".

(c) Section 612, which relates to use of foreign currencies, is amended as follows:

(1) Insert "(a)" after the section heading.

(2) Add at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) In order to provide for the foreign currency needs of United States citizens for travel or other purposes, the Secretary of the Treasury shall make available for sale for United States dollars to such citizens, at United States embassies or other convenient locations, foreign currencies acquired by the United States through operations under this Act, the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, or any Act repealed thereby, or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, which (1) he determines to be in excess of the needs of departments and agencies of the United States for such currencies, and (2) are not prohibited from such use or committed to other uses by agreement heretofore entered into with another country. United States dollars received from the sale of foreign currencies under this subsection shall be de-

posited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

(d) Section 620, which relates to prohibitions against furnishing assistance to Cuba and certain other countries, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (a) is amended as follows:

(i) Insert "(1)" immediately after "(a)".

(ii) Add the following new paragraph (2) at the end thereof:

"(2) No funds authorized to be made available under this Act shall be used to furnish assistance (except under section 214) to any country which, by failing (beginning not later than sixty days after enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1963) to take such steps as are appropriate:

"(a) permits the further carriage by any ship or aircraft under its registry, to or from Cuba, so long as it is governed by the Castro regime or any other Communist regime, of any military personnel, or any arms, ammunition, and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, or any articles, materials, or supplies, transportation materials of strategic value, and items of primary strategic significance used in the production of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, contained on the list maintained by the Administrator pursuant to title I of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as amended; or

"(b) permits the further carriage by any ship under its registry, to or from Cuba, so long as it is governed by the Castro regime or any other Communist regime, of any other equipment, materials or commodities, unless the President determines that the furnishing of such assistance is important to the security of the United States and reports such determination to the Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives: *Provided, however*, That this subparagraph (b) shall not apply with respect to the fulfillment of firm commitments of the United States made prior to the date of enactment of this paragraph, nor to military sales under section 508.

The restrictions contained in this paragraph (2) may not be waived pursuant to any other authority contained in this Act or any other provision of law."

(2) Subsection (e) is amended to read as follows:

"(e) The President shall suspend assistance to the government of any country to which assistance is provided under this or any other Act when the government of such country or any government agency or subdivision within such country on or after January 1, 1962—

"(1) has nationalized or expropriated or seized ownership or control of property owned by any United States citizen or by any corporation, partnership, or association not less than 50 per centum beneficially owned by United States citizens, or

"(2) has taken steps to repudiate or nullify existing contracts or agreements with any United States citizen or any corporation, partnership, or association not less than 50 per centum beneficially owned by United States citizens, or

"(3) has imposed or enforced discriminatory taxes or other exactions, or restrictive maintenance or operational conditions, or has taken other actions, which have the effect of nationalizing, expropriating, or otherwise seizing ownership or control of property so owned,

and such country, government agency, or government subdivision falls within a reasonable time (not more than six months after such action, or, in the event of a referral to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States within such period as provided herein, not more than twenty days after the report of the Commission is received) to take appropriate steps,

which may include arbitration, to discharge its obligations under international law toward such citizen or entity, including speedy compensation for such property in convertible foreign exchange, equivalent to the full value thereof, as required by international law, or fails to take steps designed to provide relief from such taxes, exactions, or conditions, as the case may be; and such suspension shall continue until the President is satisfied that appropriate steps are being taken, and no other provision of this Act shall be construed to authorize the President to waive the provisions of this subsection.

"Upon request of the President (within seventy days after such action referred to in paragraphs (1), (2), or (3) of this subsection), the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States (established pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954, 68 Stat. 1279) is hereby authorized to evaluate expropriated property, determining the full value of any property nationalized, expropriated, or seized, or subjected to discriminatory or other actions as aforesaid, for purposes of this subsection and to render an advisory report to the President within ninety days after such request. Unless authorized by the President, the Commission shall not publish its advisory report except to the citizen or entity owning such property. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amount, to remain available until expended, as may be necessary from time to time to enable the Commission to carry out expeditiously its functions under this subsection."

(3) Add the following new subsections at the end thereof:

"(1) No assistance shall be furnished on a grant basis under this Act to any economically developed nation capable of sustaining its own defense burden and economic growth, except (1) to fulfill firm commitments made prior to July 1, 1963, or (2) additional orientation and training expenses under part II hereof during fiscal year 1964 in an amount not to exceed \$1,000,000.

"(j) No assistance under this Act shall be furnished for projects establishing or otherwise assisting government-owned manufacturing, utility, merchandising, or processing enterprises in any country or area, except where it clearly appears that goods or services of the same general class are not or cannot be adequately provided by private businesses located within such country or area."

Chapter 2—Administrative provisions

SEC. 302. Chapter 2 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to administrative provisions, is amended as follows:

(a) Amend section 624, which relates to statutory officers, as follows:

(1) In subsection (a) (2) strike out "two shall have the rank of Deputy Under Secretaries" and substitute "one shall have the rank of a Deputy Under Secretary".

(2) In subsection (a) (3) strike out "nine" and substitute "ten".

(3) In subsection (b) strike out "paragraphs (2) and" and substitute "paragraph".

(4) In subsection (d) (1) after the words "Deputy Inspector General, Foreign Assistance," where they first appear insert "who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and strike out "\$19,500" and substitute "\$20,000".

(b) Amend section 626(b), which relates to experts, consultants, and retired officers, as follows:

(1) Strike out the entire first sentence.

(2) In the second sentence strike out "Nor shall such service" and substitute "Service of an individual as an expert or consultant under subsection (a) of this section shall not".

(c) In section 631, which relates to missions and staffs abroad, add the following new subsection (c):

"(c) The President may appoint any United States citizen who is not an employee of the United States Government or may assign any United States citizen who is a United States Government employee to serve as Chairman of the Development Assistance Committee or any successor committee thereto of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development upon election thereto by members of said Committee, and, in his discretion, may terminate such appointment or assignment, notwithstanding any other provision of law. Such person may receive such compensation and allowances as are authorized by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, not to exceed those authorized for a chief of mission, class 2, within the meaning of said Act, as the President may determine. Such person may also, in the President's discretion, receive any other benefits and perquisites available under this Act to chiefs of special missions or staffs outside the United States established under this section."

(d) Amend section 635, which relates to general authorities, as follows:

(1) Amend section 635(g) by striking out the word "and" at the end of subparagraph (4); by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (5) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and"; and by adding the following new subparagraph:

"(6) In the case of loans under part I (except under section 205), shall establish terms which shall include (A) interest at a rate not lower than three-fourths of 1 per centum per annum during the five-year period following the date on which the funds are initially made available under the loan, and not lower than 2 per centum per annum thereafter, and (B) repayment on an amortized basis, beginning not later than five years after the date any funds are initially made available under the loan, and ending not later than thirty years following the end of such five-year period."

(2) Add the following new subsections:

"(k) Any cost-type contract or agreement (including grants) entered into with a university, college, or other educational institution for the purpose of carrying out programs authorized by part I may provide for the payment of the reimbursable indirect costs of said university, college, or other educational institution on the basis of predetermined fixed-percentage rates applied to the total, or an element thereof, of the reimbursable direct costs incurred.

"(1) No loan or grant in excess of \$100,000,000, and no agreement obligating or committing the United States to make a loan or grant in excess of \$100,000,000, for the financing of any particular project shall be made or entered into under part I unless such loan, grant, or commitment shall have been specifically submitted to the Congress and specifically approved by Congress."

(e) Amend section 637(a), which relates to administrative expenses, by striking out "1963" and "\$53,000,000" and substituting "1964" and "\$52,000,000", respectively.

Chapter 3—Miscellaneous provisions

SEC. 303. Section 644(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to definition of defense services, is amended by inserting "including orientation" after "training" the first time it appears.

SEC. 304. Section 645 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to unexpended balances, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 645. UNEXPENDED BALANCES.—Unexpended balances of funds made available pursuant to this Act, the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, or Public Law 86-735 are hereby authorized to be continued

available for the general purposes for which appropriated, and may at any time be consolidated, and, in addition, may be consolidated with appropriations made available for the same general purposes under the authority of this Act."

PART IV—AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 401. The Act to provide for assistance in the development of Latin America and in the reconstruction of Chile, and for other purposes (Public Law 86-735, 22 U.S.C. 1942 et seq.), is amended as follows:

(a) Insert following the enacting clause "That this Act may be cited as 'The Latin American Development Act'".

(b) In section 2 strike out "\$500,000,000" and substitute "\$675,000,000".

SEC. 402. Section 231 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-794, approved October 11, 1962) is amended as follows:

(a) Insert "(a)" before the words "The President shall".

(b) Add the following new subsection:

"(b) The President may extend the benefits of trade agreement concessions made by the United States to products, whether imported directly or indirectly, of a country or area within the purview of subsection (a), when he determines that such treatment would be important to the national interest and would promote the independence of such country or area from domination or control by international communism, and reports this determination and the reasons therefor to the Congress."

SEC. 403. The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1691 (et seq.)), is amended as follows:

(a) Section 104(e) is amended as follows:

(1) Strike out "25 per centum" and substitute "50 per centum".

(2) Insert after the words "such firms" a comma and the words "and cooperative enterprises".

(3) Strike out "United States agricultural products" and substitute "United States agricultural and industrial products".

(b) Section 106 is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows:

"For the purposes of this title and title IV, the term 'surplus agricultural commodity' shall include any domestically produced fishery product if the Secretary of the Interior has determined that such product is at the time of exportation in excess of domestic requirements, adequate carryover, and anticipated exports for dollars."

(c) The amendment made by subsection (b) of this section shall not be effective for purposes of title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, until January 1, 1965.

WALTER FRANCIS DILLINGHAM

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, a towering, dominant figure in Hawaii's history has passed from the scene. On Tuesday, Walter Francis Dillingham—bulldozer extraordinary, outstanding civic leader and philanthropist—died in Honolulu at the age of 88. His was a life of unsurpassed activity and vigor, and a lifetime of deeply dedicated service to the greater growth and prosperity of his island community. His unbounded energies and talents overflowed to industrial enterprises in the far corners of the globe.

A native son of Hawaii, he lived a life that spanned the full spectrum of Hawaiian history. He was born and raised under a monarchy; he saw the transition of his beloved islands to a republic, to an incorporated Territory under the American flag, and finally to the

full stature of a State of the Union. He left his imprint on each period.

He was born in Honolulu on April 5, 1875 during the reign of King Kalakaua. His mother, Emma Louise Smith Dillingham, was the daughter of New England missionaries who came to Honolulu in 1833. His father, Benjamin Franklin Dillingham, arrived in Hawaii at the age of 21 from Cape Cod in 1865.

Walter Dillingham attended Punahou School in Honolulu and Newton High School in Massachusetts. Later, he attended Harvard University with the class of 1902.

In 1904, Walter's father suffered a severe illness and it became necessary for the son to take over the management of his father's business which was in a critical financial stage.

Although not yet 30 years of age, Walter carried the business through the trying financial period and within a few years, assured its success.

He became closely associated with Pacific coast finances, a relationship that proved valuable in the later promotion of many Hawaiian projects.

Throughout the years, he carried on the traditions inherited from his distinguished father, who was known as Hawaii's Empire Builder.

He married Louise Olga Gaylord on May 2, 1910.

During World War I, Walter, a member of the Officers Reserve, was called into the service. Stationed in Washington, D.C., he was detailed to organize training for the Motor Transport Corps.

At the beginning of World War II, the commanding general of the Hawaiian Islands assigned him to organize the Port of Honolulu Army, Navy, and civilian transportation, and, later, to headquarters office of food production for the islands.

All members of his family were in war service during World War II. His son Henry Gaylord, a captain in the U.S. Air Force, was killed in action in July 1945.

Upon his father's death in 1918, Walter succeeded to the presidency of Oahu Railway & Land Co. and other allied Dillingham interests.

The Hawaiian Dredging Co., Ltd., of which he was president for many years, promoted and carried out all major harbor developments and land reclamation projects in the Hawaiian Islands, including the opening up and development of Pearl Harbor and its naval station. He transformed duckponds and swamps into house lots, commercial property, and parks; arid areas into rich sugar lands.

Before the start of World War II, by contract with the U.S. Government, Hawaiian Dredging Co. was one of three contracting firms which developed military bases throughout the Pacific.

He practiced the philosophy that in an organization, men should work with, rather than for, management.

He was also connected with the early development of the Los Angeles Steamship Co., which later merged with Matson Navigation Co. He organized the Dillingham Transportation Building, Ltd., which in 1930 constructed a splendid office building in Honolulu as a tangible monument to his father.

He was the guiding hand at the helm of a score of enterprises. These firms laid much of the economic foundation upon which Hawaii grew and prospered in the 20th century. They ranged from banking, newspaper publishing, sugar and coffee production, trusts, insurance, shipping, interisland tug and barge service, dredging, land development, property management, ranching, shopping centers, office buildings, and many more.

In the postwar years, his vision scanned the horizons beyond Hawaiian shores. His firm performed Government jobs in the forward Pacific areas, in Asia and beyond, to as far as the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal. Today his family corporation is building an airport in Malaya, modernizing an Australian railroad, and dredging an Indonesian harbor. Recently it exchanged 27 acres of Honolulu waterfront for a choice acre of downtown San Francisco and 118 acres of producing sugarcane for an apartment building in Dallas.

Years ago, during a cholera epidemic, he was drafted as an agent of the board of health. He did similar service during a bubonic plague. He led the fight against these dreaded diseases of old with the vitality that characterized his concern, down through the years, for ever greater advancement of the Hawaiian Islands.

His prowess as an athlete in his younger years was widely known, notably in polo. He helped organize and captained many victorious polo teams and played in a number of tournaments on the mainland.

Busy and full as his industrial career was, community service also occupied a large part of his life. His civic and philanthropic interests involved him closely with local and national youth groups, veterans' affairs, educational foundations, chambers of commerce, professional societies, and numerous Government boards and committees.

His philanthropies were numerous, widespread, and generous. The large and imposing Dillingham Transportation Building in downtown Honolulu, which he built, was given to the Kauaikeolani Children's Hospital. His magnificent Diamond Head mansion called La Pietra, where distinguished visitors from all over the world were entertained, has been given to Punahou School, his alma mater, the oldest American school west of the Rockies. He had been a trustee of Punahou for over 60 years and chairman of its board since 1945.

Even in his sunset years, Walter Dillingham maintained an active pace. Almost till the very end he moved about in the community he loved so dearly. He was at his office the day before he died.

It was less than 2 weeks ago that I greeted him and shook his hand at a testimonial dinner for Hawaiian Republican legislators, whom I addressed. He carried his fourscore and 8 years on a stalwart frame. He stood tall and erect, a giant among men in stature, as well as in achievements.

All the people of Hawaii mourn his passing. To his charming and gracious wife Louise, equally loved and respected by the people of Hawaii; to his sons, Lowell Smith and Benjamin Franklin II,

who are carrying on in the finest tradition of the family; to his daughter, Elizabeth Louise—Mrs. Myron A. Wick, Jr.; to his respected and distinguished brother, Harold, and sister, Mrs. John P. Erdman; and to other members of this illustrious family, we extend our deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences.

We say to them, mourn not too deeply, for a man like Walter Dillingham can never die. Too much of him lives on eternally. His memory is now enshrined forever in the hearts and minds of the people of Hawaii.

He was a giant whose equal we shall not soon see again. Fortunately for Hawaii and for the Nation we had such a man.

With deepest respect and affection, we say aloha and farewell to a beloved Keiki Hanau O Ka Aina—son of the land—Walter Francis Dillingham.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

JURISDICTION OVER CERTAIN SUBMERGED LANDS IN GUAM, THE VIRGIN ISLANDS, AND AMERICAN SAMOA

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 567, H.R. 2073.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 2073) to place certain submerged lands within the jurisdiction of the governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That (a) upon the request of the Governor of Guam, the Governor of the Virgin Islands, or the Governor of American Samoa, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to convey to the government of the territory concerned whatever right, title, or interest the United States has in particular tracts of tidelands, submerged lands, or filled lands in or adjacent to the territory, subject to the limitations contained in this section. The term "tidelands, submerged lands, or filled lands" means for the purposes of this Act all lands permanently or periodically covered by tidal waters up to but not above the line of mean high tide and seaward to a line three geographical miles distance from the coastlines of the territory, as heretofore and hereafter modified by accretion, erosion, and reliction, including artificially made, filled-in, or reclaimed lands which were formerly permanently or periodically covered by tidal waters.

(b) No conveyance shall be made pursuant to this section unless the land proposed to be conveyed is clearly required for specific economic development purposes or to satisfy a compelling public need.

(c) No conveyance shall be made pursuant to this section until the expiration of sixty calendar days (exclusive of days on which the House of Representatives or the Senate is not in session because of an adjournment of more than three days to a day certain) from the date on which the Secretary of the Interior submits to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Senate an explanatory statement indicating the tract proposed to be conveyed and the need therefor, unless prior to the expiration of such sixty calendar days both committees inform the Secretary that they wish to take no action with respect to the proposed conveyance.

(d) Conveyances pursuant to this section shall be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior may deem appropriate, and shall be made without reimbursement or with such reimbursement as he may deem appropriate.

(e) The governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa shall have proprietary rights of ownership and the rights of management, administration, leasing, use, and the development of the lands conveyed pursuant to this section, but the Secretary of the Interior and such territorial governments shall not have the power or right to convey title to such lands unless the Secretary of the Interior (1) determines that such right to convey is necessary and (2) advises the committee of such determination in the manner described in subsection (c) of this section, and (3) unless the Secretary of the Interior, in proposing to convey such lands to such territorial governments, and such territorial governments in proposing to convey such lands to a third party or third parties pursuant to this section, shall publish notice of such proposed conveyance at least once a week for three weeks in a daily newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the territory affected by the proposed conveyance. Such published notice shall include the names of all parties to the proposed contract of conveyance, the purchase price, and a general summary of the boundaries of the tract or tracts proposed to be included in the conveyance.

(f) There shall be excepted from conveyances made pursuant to this section all deposits of oil, gas, and other minerals, but the term "minerals" shall not include sand, gravel, or coral.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Interior shall have administrative responsibility for all tidelands, submerged lands, or filled lands in or adjacent to Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, except (1) lands conveyed pursuant to section 1 of this Act, (2) lands that are not owned by the United States on the date of enactment of this Act, and (3) lands that are within the administrative responsibility of any other department or agency of the United States on the date of enactment of this Act, for so long as such condition continues. In exercising such authority, the Secretary may grant revocable permits, subject to such terms and conditions as he may deem appropriate, for the use, occupancy, and filling of such lands, and for the removal of sand, gravel, and coral therefrom.

(b) Nothing contained in this section shall affect the authority heretofore conferred upon any department, agency, or officer of the United States with respect to the lands referred to in this section.

SEC. 3. (a) Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of the President to establish naval defensive sea areas and naval airspace reservations around and over the islands of Guam,

American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands which he deems necessary for national defense.

(b) Nothing in this Act shall affect the use, development, improvement, or control by or under the constitutional authority of the United States of the lands conveyed pursuant to section 1 of this Act and the navigable water overlying such lands, for the purposes of navigation or flood control or the production of power, or shall be construed as the release or relinquishment of any rights of the United States arising under the constitutional authority of Congress to regulate or improve navigation, or to provide for flood control, or the production of power.

(c) The United States retains all of its navigational servitude and rights in and powers of regulation and control of the lands conveyed pursuant to section 1 of this Act and the navigable waters overlying such lands, for the constitutional purposes of commerce, navigation, national defense, and international affairs, all of which shall be paramount to, but shall not be deemed to include, proprietary rights of ownership, or the rights of management, administration, leasing, use, and development of the lands and natural resources not in derogation of United States navigational servitude and rights which are specifically conveyed to the governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, or American Samoa, as the case may be, pursuant to section 1 of this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this section, the governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, as the case may be, shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the United States over parties found, acts performed, and offenses committed on property owned, reserved, or controlled by the United States in Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. A judgment of conviction or acquittal on the merits under the laws of Guam, the Virgin Islands, or American Samoa shall be a bar to any prosecution under the criminal laws of the United States for the same act or acts, and a judgment of conviction or acquittal on the merits under the laws of the United States shall be a bar to any prosecution under the laws of Guam, the Virgin Islands, or American Samoa for the same act or acts.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, the President may from time to time exclude from the concurrent jurisdiction of the government of Guam persons found, acts performed, and offenses committed on the property of the United States which is under the control of the Secretary of Defense to such extent and in such circumstances as he finds required in the interest of the national defense.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that certain portions of the committee report on the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the committee report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purposes of H.R. 2073, as amended, are: (1) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain tracts of submerged lands surrounding the territories of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, upon request of the respective Governors, when the lands are required for a specific economic development or to satisfy a compelling public need, and (2) to grant these governments concurrent jurisdiction over persons found, acts performed, and offenses committed on lands which are owned, controlled, or reserved by the United States in and around these islands.

LAND TRANSFERS

On January 31, 1958, the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior held, in his deci-

sion (65 I.D., No. 5), that title to the tidelands and submerged lands adjacent to the unincorporated territories of the United States is in the United States; that lands resulting from the filling of tidelands and submerged lands occupy the same status; and that all such tidelands, submerged lands, and filled lands are held in trust by the United States for the use of all of the people, and are not to be granted away in the absence of specific authorization by the Congress. There has been no specific authorization by the Congress permitting the conveyance of or transfer of control over such lands to the territorial governments or to any other parties, except for Public Law 86-664, by which particular filled, submerged, and tidelands were granted to the government of Guam, to be used for certain public purposes. In light of the absence of any general authorization from the Congress, and in light of the Solicitor's 1958 opinion, there is no authority at this time under which any Federal agency might lease or transfer any such land to any of the territorial governments or to any private party. There is consequently no means by which the territorial governments can be encouraged either to develop these lands themselves or to persuade others to do so. There is no incentive to reclaim land which the territorial governments all sorely need and which could, in many instances, be filled at a reasonable cost.

The existing situation poses serious problems for Guam and the Virgin Island, and it will pose equally serious problems for American Samoa to the extent applicable. Guam has a total land area of only 206 square miles and a population of 67,000, giving it a population density of 321 persons per square mile. The Virgin Islands area is 133 square miles, its population 32,100, and its population density 241 persons per square mile. American Samoa's area is 76 square miles, its population 20,100, and its population density 264 persons per square mile. (By way of contrast, the United States, exclusive of Alaska, has an area of slightly over 3 million miles, a population of about 186 million, and a population density of about 62 persons per square mile.)

These figures by themselves make evident the importance of each acre of land that can be reclaimed in Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa and the importance of clearing up title problems and other obstacle that may impede such reclamation as far as the Congress can do so. Add to this that the most valuable and, sometimes, the only feasible sites for many purposes are shoreline locations; and the importance of this becomes still clearer.

Witnesses before the committee presented convincing testimony that certain tracts of submerged areas offered attractive economic development possibilities after filling, if title to the lands could be transferred to the affected territory.

In section 1 of the bill as amended, the committee recommends language which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make conveyances of specific tracts of tidelands, submerged lands, or filled lands when requested by the Governor of the territory. No conveyance may be made until the expiration of 60 calendar days from the date on which the Secretary submits to the House and Senate Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs an explanatory statement indicating the tract to be conveyed and the terms and conditions thereof. Excepted from all conveyances are oil, gas, and other minerals, but not including sand, gravel, or coral. Once lands have been conveyed the territory shall have proprietary rights of ownership, but not the right to convey to a third party unless the Secretary determines that such a right is necessary and so advises the congressional committees, and unless he publishes notice to this effect in a daily

newspaper in the affected territory together with full details of the proposed conveyance.

Section 2 of the bill, as amended, puts administrative responsibility in the Secretary of the Interior for all tidelands and submerged lands not conveyed by section 1, except lands owned by the United States or lands within the administrative responsibility of another department.

Section 3(a) provides that nothing in the act will affect the President's power to establish naval defensive sea areas and air reservations around the three territories when he deems it necessary for defense purposes. Subsections (b) and (c) of this section preserve in the United States the same powers with respect to the use and improvement of submerged lands for navigation, power, national defense, flood control, and international affairs as were reserved by the Submerged Lands Act of 1953 in the case of the States.

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

The House Interior Committee, in its Report No. 222 accompanying H.R. 2073, described the nature of legislative and judicial jurisdiction problems in the territories by the following examples:

"Before this proposed legislation was prepared * * * conferences were held with representatives of the Department of Justice, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Interior. There is general agreement that a long-neglected field of uncertain jurisdiction between the territorial governments and the United States should be clarified by the Congress. The following specific cases will illustrate the problem:

"In *Velasquez v. People of Puerto Rico* (77 F. 2d 431 (1935), cert. den. 296 U.S. 602), the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico had been assaulted in his chambers which were located in a building on land owned by the United States. The assailant was prosecuted by Puerto Rico and convicted but the court of appeals held that Puerto Rico had no jurisdiction to prosecute as the land upon which the offense was committed was under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.

"While this provision was under discussion a representative of the Judge Advocate of the Navy had under consideration a situation in which the master of a ship in the Navy harbor in Guam was attacked by a merchant seaman. The Supreme Court has held that the military has no jurisdiction to proceed against civilians under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The Guam police were called but refused to take any action upon the ground that they had no jurisdiction to arrest on a military reservation. This was an offense against the United States and could have been prosecuted by the U.S. attorney but a proper complaint would have been required.

"A taxi fare was taken by the driver to a war-dog cemetery in Guam which had been reserved to the United States under the organic act. There he struck her with a tire iron, placed her in the trunk of the taxicab, drove into a civilian area and threw her over a cliff. If the deceased had died in the war-dog cemetery there is a question as to whether the government of Guam would have had jurisdiction to prosecute him for murder as was done. As the judge in this case, both the attorney general of Guam and the U.S. attorney shared my concern as to jurisdiction. Because of some evidence in the case I held that the deceased was alive when she was driven off the reservation.

"Shortly after the above cases a man lying on a beach with a woman companion was murdered and the woman seriously injured. The accused was prosecuted by the Government of Guam but if the beach was below the high water mark the land would have been owned by the United States and possibly under its exclusive jurisdiction.

"Similar jurisdictional questions arise in the application of civil laws. Guam has a divorce law which requires a 1 year's residence before an action for divorce may be filed. Many divorces have been granted to members of the Armed Forces and civilian employees who reside on reservations. There is respectable authority which holds that in these circumstances no residence can be acquired. There is the possibility that future problems involving estates of divorced persons or the legitimacy of children of second marriages may arise. The pilot case in this field as regards territories which have been given control over property owned by the United States is *Gromer v. Standard Dredging Co.* (224 U.S. 362, 369 (1912)), in which the Supreme Court held that 'the relation of Congress to all territorial legislation is similar [certain organic acts of the States being cited] and thus it may be said that the exercise of local jurisdiction for ordinary municipal purposes over a reservation in a territory is valid until or unless disapproved by Congress.' But of course the Supreme Court held * * * that the United States owned submerged land from the low water mark in *U.S. v. California* (322 U.S. 19 (1947))."

Section 4 of H.R. 2073 provides for concurrent jurisdiction by the territorial governments and by the United States over areas within the territories that are owned by the United States. It also provides safeguards against double jeopardy. Legislative clarification of this subject is most desirable because of the uncertainty that has existed in the past.

AMENDMENTS

As passed by the House of Representatives, H.R. 2073 would have placed all of the submerged lands surrounding the territories under the control of the territorial governments with certain exceptions. The bill has been amended to provide that only such tracts as may be needed by the territories shall be conveyed, when justified. It is believed that this method of transfer will result in more orderly economic development in the offshore territories.

The committee has deleted two sections from the House-passed bill relating to amendments to the Organic Acts of Guam and the Virgin Islands that would convey certain property to the two territories. All of the information sought by the committee on the subject could not be made available at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain submerged lands to the governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, and for other purposes."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. CLARK. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 568, S. 569.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S 569) to amend the National Defense Education Act of 1958, in order to extend the provisions of title II relating to the cancellation of loans under such title to teachers in private, nonprofit elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with an amendment at the top of page 2, to insert a new section, as follows:

Sec. 2. Sections 511 and 611 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 are amended by inserting before the word "public" the following: "private nonprofit or".

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 205(b)(3) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is amended by striking out "elementary or secondary school in a State" and inserting in lieu thereof "or private nonprofit elementary or secondary school in a State, or in an institution of higher education".

Sec. 2. Sections 511 and 611 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 are amended by inserting before the word "public" the following: "private nonprofit or".

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the pending bill, which was introduced by me and the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING], was unanimously reported by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The bill is designed to eliminate certain inequities in the National Defense Education Act which adversely affect education.

Under present law, not to exceed 50 percent of a National Defense Education Act student loan can be canceled if the borrower, after graduation, becomes a full-time teacher in a public elementary or secondary school.

S. 569 would extend this loan forgiveness clause to student borrowers who later teach in private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools or in institutions of higher learning.

This change is in harmony with the philosophy of the National Defense Education Act and is important to the future of American education.

Many highly respected organizations have endorsed an extension of the loan forgiveness clause because they recognize that there is a great need for more and better teachers at all levels of education.

STIPENDS FOR TEACHERS ATTENDING INSTITUTES

S. 569 would bring about another significant change in the National Defense Education Act by letting private school

instructors receive the stipends now given public school teachers at special federally-supported institutes in counseling, guidance, and language instruction.

At the present time, public school teachers attending these institutes are eligible to receive \$75 a week and an allowance of \$15 a week for each dependent. Very few private school teachers attend these institutes because they are not eligible for stipends.

S. 569 would remove this inequity by providing the same benefit to all teachers, public and private.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that certain excerpts from the committee report be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEE ACTION

In executive session on September 25, 1963, the committee added to S. 569 as introduced, a new section 2 incorporating the text of S. 571. The bill as amended, if enacted, would—

A. In section 1, extend the benefits of the loan forgiveness provisions of title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, now available only to those borrowers who subsequently teach in a public elementary or secondary school, to (1) those who teach in nonprofit private elementary and secondary schools, and (2) to those who teach in institutions of higher education; and

B. In section 2 extend the stipend benefits under titles V and VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, now available only to public elementary and secondary school teachers, to those who teach in private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION

Section 1

Title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended, presently provides that not to exceed 50 percent of a National Defense Education Act loan advanced to a student who becomes a full-time teacher in a public elementary or secondary school can be canceled at a rate of 10 percent of the balance (including interest) outstanding on the first day of teaching for each academic year of service.

S. 569, if enacted, would extend this principle to an individual who enters upon a teaching career in a private nonprofit elementary or secondary school or who engages in teaching in an institution of higher education.

The provisions of section 1 were contained in S. 3326 of the 87th Congress which was favorably reported to the Senate on September 28, 1962 (Rept. No. 2190). It passed the Senate on September 29, 1962. S. 3326 was not acted upon by the House of Representatives in the closing days of the second session and the legislation therefore died.

S. 580, the National Education Improvement Act of 1963, introduced on January 29, 1963, carried the proposed language in section 195(b)(3). Seventeen days of hearings on several bills, including S. 569 and S. 571, and on the various provisions of S. 580 were held by the committee between April 29, 1963, and June 27, 1963. In the course of the hearings testimony was heard in support of the proposal from many witnesses. (See pps. 607, 676, 723, 1047, 1085, 1414, 1632, and 3278 of the committee hearings.)

In light of the testimony the committee is of the view that section 1, whose benefits would accrue to the individual and enactment of which would provide a needed incentive to staff all segments of American education at all levels, is justified.

The continuing shortage of teachers extends to private nonprofit as well as to public schools and to all levels of our educational system. This amendment to title II of the National Defense Education Act would encourage college students to consider careers in teaching in all types of schools and at all levels.

Section 2

Titles V and VI of the National Defense Education Act now provide that public school personnel attending institutes under these titles are eligible to receive weekly

stipends of \$75 and an allowance of \$15 a week for each dependent. Private school personnel attend institutions without charge, but do not receive stipends. Section 2, if enacted, would remove this differential treatment by providing the same benefits to all who participate.

The provisions of section 2 were contained in S. 580 (see above) and in S. 571, introduced on January 29, 1963. It is the committee view that equitable treatment be accorded all participants in the institute programs under these titles of the National Defense Education Act.

Estimated cost of the bill, if enacted

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
New obligational authority:					
Title II student loans:					
Cancellation of student loans (teachers in private nonprofit schools and teachers in higher education institutions).....	\$52,000	\$75,000	\$120,000	\$165,000	\$225,000
Titles V and VI, stipends to teachers in private nonprofit schools.....	1 (302,400)	1 (302,400)	1 (302,400)	-----	-----

¹ Amounts would not represent additional obligational authority since the authorizations are not increased. The additional cost would be absorbed through a reduction in the number of institutes. The number of private school teachers is estimated at 360, the number presently enrolled in the institute program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be offered, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 in order to extend the provisions of title II relating to cancellation of loans under such title to teachers in private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, and to authorize for teachers in private nonprofit schools certain benefits under the provisions of titles V and VI of such Act provided for teachers in public schools."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7885) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in order that Senators may be on notice, and for the purpose of the Record, debate on the foreign aid bill will begin on Monday. The distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], will open the debate. My understanding is that his presentation will be followed by that of the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. I anticipate that other Senators may wish to speak on the bill.

It is the intention of the leadership to proceed with the foreign aid bill until

the Senate completes consideration of it, which I hope will be next week.

Senators should therefore adjust their time and schedules accordingly. We feel that this is very vital legislation. The majority leader is desirous that debate be concluded and that all amendments be voted on next week.

No request will be made at this time to limit debate on the bill. That request will be presented after the debate has proceeded for some time. This is very important legislation.

A CALL FOR ACTION—THE WHEAT ACT OF 1963

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to establish a special agricultural wheat conservation program for the 1964-65 crop years.

Mr. President, we are faced with a great challenge this autumn—how to be of maximum assistance to the 1.8 million wheatgrowers and other farmers and ranchers of this Nation. I have given considerable thought to this matter and have discussed it with farmers of my State of Minnesota and throughout the Nation at every opportunity since the referendum on the Wheat Act of 1962. I also have taken the matter up with leaders in agriculture abroad, since our policy with regard to wheat could have a direct bearing on our commitments under the International Wheat Agreement.

I have asked myself this basic question: How can we harmonize the many-sided intensely expressed views so that any compromise that might emerge represents a constructive consensus? Will the emergent legislation be an improvement over the current status for the wheatgrower?

If we are to understand each other, we must first understand the position of the wheatgrower.

We all recall the wheat referendum that was held on May 21 of this year.

There was much sincere work on both sides in an effort to affect the referendum, which was for the 1964 crop. Wheatgrowers rejected it at the ballot box. Whether we agree with the verdict or not, the decision has been made in the traditional democratic method. Therefore, we must be very careful to avoid even the appearance, much less the reality, of a punitive response.

It may be recalled—and I am sure Senators do recall—that, immediately following the vote on the wheat referendum, I urged that we look forward to a program affecting wheat farmers that would maintain farm income and would, to the best of our ability, prevent a further accumulation of unneeded production.

There are some who say, "Let us not as legislators take any action, and the wheat farmers will vote differently in 1964." To those people, I say that the farmers deserve better of us than that kind of talk or inaction. To those people, I point out that, under present law, the referendum for the 1965 crop must be held not later than June 14, 1964—a date when very little of the 1964 crop would have been harvested, and farmers would not have yet experienced the expected lower prices. For these and other reasons there is no assurance that the verdict will be any different next year than it was this year. I do not intend to stand idly by and watch with any degree of equanimity the indicated lower returns to our wheat farmers during the July 1964 to June 1965 period—and even possibly beyond that.

After careful research and much discussion relating to the wheat production problem and the price problem affecting it, I am convinced that, unless Congress takes some action in the coming months, farmers will suffer a serious drop in farm income. I recognize that the current increase in exports—and this year, by the way, there is a tremendous export program, even beyond that of the sales of wheat, or the projected sales of wheat, to the Soviet bloc countries—can affect the price of wheat. It can lift it. But with the surplus carried over, plus the crop of the year 1963, plus what appear to be even bigger plantings for 1964, the price of wheat could well go down to \$1.25 a bushel, and the effect of such a drop upon our economy would be serious. It would affect not only the wheat farmer; it also would affect every merchant, every manufacturer, every businessman, every bank, and every lending institution throughout the Nation. It would affect workers, as well.

The farmer of America is one of the largest users of steel products, petroleum, chemicals, electricity, household goods, and many other products. Unless farm income is good, other people are affected adversely. There is an interdependence in our economy. That interdependence is clear and unmistakable when it is related to the farm income and the utilization or consumption of manufactured or processed goods.

What are the consequences, therefore, of inaction or the failure to act?

First, in order for a farmer to be eligible for price support in the 1964 program,

he must stay within his share of a 49½ million-acre allotment. There are no marketing quota penalties for overplanting the allotment. Price support will be around \$1.25 per bushel. Therefore, the market price for wheat will likely be below the 1963 levels, especially at harvest time when many farmers are forced to sell.

Second, it must be remembered that in 1957 and 1958, laws were enacted covering the determination of future wheat acreage allotments. Under those provisions, the farm wheat history is only the allotment if the acreage allotment is exceeded. On the other hand, farmers who stay within their allotments receive credit in the determination of future allotments, not only for the acreage harvested, but also for the acreage diverted.

Thus, a producer who exceeds his allotment accumulates smaller acreage history relative to his allotment than a farmer who plants within his allotment.

Third, under the conservation reserve provisions of the soil bank, a farmer forfeits his payment if he exceeds the larger of the wheat acreage allotment or 15 acres.

Fourth, the President has delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture the authority vested in him by Congress under the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949, as amended. This action was necessary because disapproval of marketing quotas in the 1964 wheat referendum introduced uncertainties in domestic and world markets.

Wheat prices in the United States could fall below levels equivalent to minimum prices specified for sales under the International Wheat Agreement. I would expect them to do so unless Congress should act.

If exports by the United States at such prices were permitted, the result would be the collapse of the agreement. So a failure to act in the coming months might not only seriously affect the domestic economy and very well rub out all the good of a proposed tax reduction; it also would seriously jeopardize the International Wheat Agreement and throw the world market into an uproar. I do not believe this point is well understood by Congress. There has been so much discouragement in Congress over the inadequacies of farm programs, and the apparent lack of effectiveness of some of the programs, that we have tended to run away from the realities of the current agricultural situation. We tend, more or less, to ignore what would be the consequences of the failure of Congress to act on wheat legislation. I repeat, failure to act would result in a sharp drop in farm income at home. It could result in the utter and complete destruction of the International Wheat Agreement. This would mean there would be jungle warfare among all the wheat-producing nations in the foreign markets. In that kind of struggle, the American farmer would be the victim. Let us face our responsibilities.

Mr. President, the U.S. wheat producer is the most efficient and best producer in the world. It would avail him little in the way of expanded markets to

be forced to sell at the low International Wheat Agreement prices. There would be worldwide repercussions in the wheat markets, which in turn would disrupt our relations with our good friends in Canada, Australia, and Argentina, and many of our European friends.

Facing this alternative, the executive branch would have to engage in a massive interference in the commercial export trade. It likely would require an export market takeover by the Commodity Credit Corporation in order to live up to the International Wheat Agreement. This series of events would mean even lower prices for our wheat-growers. This might very well spell the end of the private commercial wheat market by the merchants who handle wheat in the normal commercial channels. I do not believe we should permit this to happen. We must not allow this series of unfavorable events to occur.

There are benefits as well as obligations under the International Wheat Agreement. Benefits to exporters include the obligation of importing countries to purchase a specified share of their requirements at prices within the range of \$1.625 to \$2.025 for No. 1 Manitoba northern wheat in store at Fort William-Port Arthur, Canada.

We shall reap some of these benefits in the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union, which only last year became a member of the International Wheat Agreement. The International Wheat Agreement will provide a fair price for many of our wheat producers. But if the domestic price in the United States collapses and we produce an overwhelming abundance of wheat in addition to our present carryover, it will mean the entire structure of world prices will collapse. The \$1.25 price support of wheat, which is the present law, as a result of the rejection of the referendum, will mean chaos in the international wheat markets unless Congress takes affirmative action before the forthcoming crop.

The United States expects not only to fulfill its obligations by not exporting at prices below the minimum, as required by the World Wheat Agreement, but also to continue to realize the benefits of the agreement by exporting at prices in line with prices at which other IWA exporting countries are selling wheat. In the past year, United States sales under the IWA were made at prices near the middle of the IWA range. They ran about \$1.82 to \$1.85.

Before the referendum, the Department of Agriculture indicated that, in the event marketing quotas were not approved, special arrangements would be made for exports under the IWA. It also was indicated that commercial United States sales to nonmember countries would have to be at prices within the IWA range, so as not to impair the successful operation of the agreement.

Commercial exports to non-IWA countries have accounted in the past for about 25 percent of total United States commercial wheat exports. If made at prices outside the IWA range, such sales probably would break the agreement. Thus, sales to nonmember countries will be limited to the IWA price range in the 1964 marketing year.

Fifth, the income of wheatgrowers will drop by several hundred million dollars, under the alternative now in effect. This spells real trouble for the breadbasket of the Nation. It cannot occur without serious adverse economic effects on the main streets of our small towns and the factories of our cities. What we are concerned with is the economic well-being of this Nation. A rural dislocation of this dimension will cause urban factory job losses. It will cause job losses in transportation and in distribution.

Mr. President, I repeat that, while Congress gives consideration to a tax-reduction bill designed to stimulate the economy, much of the effect of the tax reduction can be erased by a sharp drop in agricultural income. We cannot afford to have such a drop in income. Furthermore, we also need the tax reduction. We need every bit of help Congress can bring to bear upon our current economic situation.

Sixth, the keenest students of agriculture warn us that the adverse economic impact of low wheat prices and lack of a better wheat program would spill over to feed-grain areas, and then to the livestock producers. So all of us have an interest in a viable wheat economy.

Low wheat prices will mean that wheat will be competitive with feed grains and will force down the prices of feed grains, and, in turn, will reduce farm income for the feed-grain producers, which, in turn—as we know from history and from experience—will increase the number of livestock, the number of poultry, and the number of swine, which, in turn, will mean surpluses, which add up to lower prices and reduced income. So we shall find that we have opened a Pandora's box of trouble, unless we can close the lid. It is all very well for people to say that the farmers should have known better when they voted in the May referendum. But there are 101 answers as to why the farmers rejected that program. However, the fact is that they did reject it; and now we in Congress have a responsibility to try to provide other alternatives. We have a responsibility to the whole country, not merely to the farmers; we have a responsibility to the total economy; and I say, without fear of successful contradiction, that, if we fail to act, we can unleash in our economy a stream of trouble which literally will flood us with low farm-commodity prices, surpluses, and a reduced income, not only for farmers, but also for millions of others.

I am convinced that this Nation is blessed with a unique opportunity to use its agricultural resources to provide maximum benefit to all mankind. The food-for-peace program has enabled us to help feed a hungry world.

It is rendering a useful and effective service. Every Member of Congress should be proud of that program. Wheat truly has been the staff of life of the food-for-peace program. Our wheat-growers have helped push back the frontier of hunger, on the threshold of which one-third of the world's population still lives.

Certainly we must continue this great humanitarian program with its very beneficial foreign relations aspects. However, at the same time, we must be sure that reduced prices do not force the wheat farmers who make this possible into "mining" or exploiting the soil, in order to eke out a living. This would be disastrous in the long run. We must insure ourselves an adequate supply of wheat for the long pull, to feed an expanding population. For this worthy objective, we need to expand our area of conserving crops.

Mr. President, in full recognition of the fundamental responsibility to our wheat-growers, I have therefore introduced, today, on behalf of myself, my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], a voluntary wheat bill for the 1964 and 1965 crops.

We realize that this is a late date for the passage of new wheat legislation, and I have not introduced this bill as a quick and spontaneous response to what I think is a serious problem. I have introduced the bill after months of study, argument, discussion, and consideration. I have discussed the bill with representatives of every farm organization and with most of the leading farm economists; and many of those with whom I have discussed the bill have made constructive suggestions which have been incorporated into the text of the bill. The bill has met with friendly support from many of our farm economists, and is welcomed by most of our farm organizations as a constructive proposal.

The proposed legislation I have introduced represents a new and balanced approach in wheat proposals. It is not all that I would prefer. However, I am a realist; I have been here for quite a while. I served for more than 8 years on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; and, since 1949, I have been in every Senate battle relating to agricultural legislation. So I know that, if we are to succeed in helping the wheat-growers, we must recognize the diverse interests that are at work and we must get the best possible legislation that will meet with friendly response among those diverse interests. If politics is the art of the possible, let all of us be of this school of realism as we contemplate agricultural policy.

Let us not dissipate our energies by making proposals that do not have a chance of passage or by making proposals that will only get headlines or that will please one particular group. Let us not dissipate our energies by fighting each other, because, in the process of doing that, we hurt each other and injure the Nation.

Fundamentally, the 2-year wheat bill I am introducing is a voluntary conservation program.

Any legislation affecting wheat production must have as its objective the maintenance of a fair price. This bill provides for \$2 wheat in the domestic market and competitive prices for the world market.

It meets our needs at home and abroad. It encourages proper use of the

soil, through conservation incentive payments.

It permits and encourages the farmer to use his land—and I emphasize the words "to use his land," not just to let it lie idle—by planting crops in short supply that are needed in this country—such as oilseeds—on land taken out of wheat production.

Mr. President, I believe the bill is in the interests of the taxpayers, because it would reduce overall costs. Cost estimates have been made in connection with the bill; and I state for the record that this bill would cost the taxpayers or the Government much less than would the current wheat program, and much less than the one which was rejected in the referendum. The bill provides the best income for farmers, at less cost to the taxpayers; and it permits the American wheat farmer to compete in world markets, without destroying the International Wheat Agreement.

Farmers will have an opportunity to participate in a program which is designed as follows:

First, it would expand conservation and prevent mining of the soil;

Second, it would offer cooperators higher income through a higher price support than the \$1.25 a bushel now available, plus support payments, plus substantial conservation payments, plus an opportunity to obtain higher than support prices in the market;

Third, it would provide for the resumption of the use of wheat for feed in areas where it has been used historically for this purpose;

Fourth, it would minimize the amount of, or eliminate, export subsidies and diversion payments;

Fifth, it would avoid a massive governmental interference with the movement of wheat through the normal channels of trade because of our obligations under the International Wheat Agreement;

Sixth, it would induce a shift from wheat to oilseeds and other crops for which there are expanding needs—crops that are not in surplus and that have a ready market.

Seventh, it would provide as part of the legislative history that the lower market prices for wheat be reflected in prices paid by consumers. This is a consumer's bill as well as one designed to be of help to our farmers. American consumers would pay the same price for flour as consumers of importing nations. Conceivably, it could be lower.

Eighth, it would provide a program under which the more desirable grades of wheat would be sold by farmers to reflect their inherent premium values, and,

Ninth, it would provide as part of the legislative history that the executive branch do everything feasible to meet the needs of hungry people through expanded use of Public Law 480.

Those are the broad outlines of the wheat program that I am proposing for 1964 and 1965.

Now I should like to state some of the details:

First, it is a voluntary 2-year special conservation program designed to reduce Commodity Credit Corporation stocks,

induce the resumption of the use of wheat for feed, and to minimize or eliminate the amount of export subsidies and diversion payments. If it works well, we can extend it and eliminate marketing quota programs permanently for wheat.

Second, the wheat base will be the 1963 allotment, but, for small growers, it will be the average acreage of wheat planted for harvest on the farm in 1959, 1960, and 1961. That will give some advantage to the small family-sized farm—the small grower, so to speak, in wheat production.

Third, price support will be provided to cooperators at the farm equivalent of the world price level or about \$1.35 per bushel.

That is the loan price. That will fluctuate, because the world price fluctuates, and the tendency of the world price is to go up, so that the price support loan may be well over \$1.35. In addition, a domestic consumption payment to bring average returns to \$2 per bushel will be made to cooperators on one-half of normal production. In addition, an export use payment of 25 cents a bushel on one-half of normal production will be provided to cooperators only. The farmer will get these payments—not the processor, not the handler, but the farmer. The need for an export subsidy to the exporter and to the merchant, therefore, will be eliminated, and we shall be back to a program under which the benefits of the proposed legislation will go to the farmer. The payments would go to the farmer, and the merchant would have a product that he could market in world competition. Unless we act in that way, we shall become so entangled in a web of bureaucratic regulations that our merchants will not know what to do. The cotton situation is almost in that position now, and the wheat situation is not much better.

I intend in the months ahead to go back to one of my keen interests in this body, namely, to bring some sense and order out of our agricultural policy. My proposal is the first of several suggestions that I intend to make. I have hesitated to make my suggestions since I have not served during the past 18 months or 2 years on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. But my interest is in that area, and I believe I have some competence in and some knowledge of the area.

I feel that the time is at hand to try to emancipate our farmers from the constantly growing web of regulations and controls which in the long run will compel them to repudiate programs that are in their own interest. At the same time the same controls make it exceedingly difficult for our merchants, exporters, and our grain handlers to do any business anywhere in the world.

Fourth, in order to induce a shift in land use out of wheat, conservation payments will be paid directly to wheat-growers. The Secretary will be encouraged to permit such diverted acreage to be devoted to the production of oilseeds in order to expand the supply of protein meals needed by an expanding livestock population. If the land is devoted to such a special crop, reduced conservation payments will be made.

I have not provided for price supports for oilseeds produced on diverted acreage, because questions have been raised as to the advisability of increasing the cost to the Treasury or the taxpayer. Therefore, in a spirit of compromise, I am willing to go along with that view, although personally I would like to see flaxseed and soybeans declared to be eligible for price supports.

If a farmer is paid for taking his land out of production and given what we call conservation incentive payments, and then the farmer decides to plant on that land oilseeds, which are in short supply, he will get income from those oilseeds. Therefore his payments from the Government for conservation purposes should be reduced.

The farmer does not desire a free ride. He wants justice. The bill provides that he shall not be treated as a special sort of individual, but must be accorded equity, justice, and fairplay in the marketplace.

In 1961, the Secretary of Agriculture foresaw the great need for an expanded acreage of soybeans. Some were critical of the price support action he wisely took to induce such increased production. This was a great act of agricultural statesmanship, for out of it came a sharp increase in production. Farmers have enjoyed higher than support prices. I quote from the August 29, 1963, issue of the *Fats and Oils Situation*:

The carryover of old-crop soybeans on October 1, 1963, would be about 10 million bushels. A 10 million bushel carryover is less than 1 week's requirement for crushing and export.

We ought to have 100 million bushels in carryover as a national security reserve. We are in danger of a short supply of oilseeds at this very moment. With that wise policy, soybean acreage has gone up about 5½ million acres—acreage which probably would have been devoted to crops which now are in surplus. Had it not been for the shift of the 5½ million acres from wheat and feed grains to soybeans, our agricultural economy would be in a more serious situation than it is. The oilseeds—the flaxseed and soybean—have provided some reasonable market assurance for the farm producer, particularly in the Midwest and the South.

With this wise policy, soybeans have moved up to the No. 4 position in terms of cash receipts from sales of crops.

In my part of the country it runs about No. 2. It is becoming a very important crop, and it does not cost the taxpayer a nickel. We have had a decent program. We have had a working program.

With this wise policy, soybeans and its products are right now the No. 1 dollar earner in the export market. The sale of soybeans for dollars abroad is making a \$600 million dent in our balance-of-payments deficit.

The possibility of a billion dollars a year in soybeans for export in the next 2 years is not a wild guess. It is a reality.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is one product which is not produced in Europe. Euro-

pean nations will not discriminate against our exports of that product. They need soybeans and soybean products very badly.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Exactly. As the Senator so aptly puts it, there is no other product today that does not suffer discriminatory treatment. If the European market and other markets of the world are to have cattle—to move into a higher standard of living, since meat products are a sort of symbol of the higher standard of living—the soybean, and particularly the soybean meal, which is a protein product, are absolutely essential. We have soybean meal and we have soybean oil, which are needed throughout the world.

Mr. President, the export demand for soybeans and soybean meal is growing at an extremely rapid rate—something on the order of 10 to 15 percent per year.

We have done some good work in market development under Public Law 480. We need to fill that demand, and we can. Certainly, the General Motors Corp. would not be foolish enough to produce Oldsmobiles if it foresaw a sharp increase in demand for Buicks.

I note for the record that the Ford Motor Co. ceased the production of Edsels when it realized that it could not sell them, and went into the production of Falcons, which it can sell.

Soybeans are marketable; and my program relating to wheat legislation would provide an incentive for some of our farmers to get out of wheat production and move into production of soybeans, to increase farm income.

Our market experts see a continued expansion in demand for soybeans and its products. Let us give the Secretary the authority provided in this bill to contract with farmers to induce a shift out of wheat into soybeans. Incidentally, there will be savings in Government costs if such agreements are made.

Furthermore, this approach fits in with the present administration policy to shift acreage from surplus crops into a use category. This makes sense and is a superior policy to that of idling acreage.

Some will question the desirability of expanding soybean production because they know that substantial quantities of cottonseed and soybean oil are moving into human stomachs under the food-for-peace program. Let us make no apologies for this great humanitarian effort with its excellent economic and diplomatic overtones. The market development features of this program have enabled us to convert from foreign currency sales to dollar markets in Spain, Italy, Japan, and several other hard currency areas. It has taken hard work, but it is paying multiple dividends.

No other product can show such good results.

Of all the crops produced in the United States, this one has the greatest growth potential. Only a few months ago Secretary Freeman indicated that he would not be concerned with a 100-million-bushel carryover to protect the American consumer and livestock feeder against a short crop. Our carryover will be only 10 percent of this level next October 1.

Let us provide the legislative authority to nurture this growth.

Fifth, the objective is to reduce CCC wheat stocks by 100 million bushels per year, and the Secretary is instructed to use the above framework in developing a program to this end.

Sixth, no sales of Government stocks can be made at less than 115 percent of the support price, plus reasonable carrying charges.

The actual loan price under this program would be less than under the previous program; therefore we provide in the bill that Government stocks may not be made available at less than 115 percent plus reasonable carrying charges.

This will maximize the opportunities for the free market to function without the threat of Government interference.

Seventh, such a program also will enable us to meet our obligations under the International Wheat Agreement. The absence of a program could cause us difficulties with Canada, Australia, France, Argentina, and others. Furthermore, in the absence of such a program, to meet our obligations under the IWA, the executive branch would have to engage in a massive interference in the commercial export trade.

Eighth, it will significantly increase wheat farmers' income over the current outlook.

I believe most wheatgrowers will participate in the voluntary wheat program I have described. A substantial conservation payment for shifting wheat acreage to conserving uses—or a small payment to shift into needed crops—are desirable alternatives. The Secretary and his technical experts can figure out the rates of payment needed to reduce CCC stocks by at least 100 million bushels per year. This would result in substantial savings in storage costs. At the same time, market prices would go above support prices, since the buyers would know that the Secretary could not sell at less than 15 percent above the support level, plus reasonable carrying charges. This all adds up to a better and more sensible program.

America's wheat is a tremendous asset in the world's struggle for peace and freedom—an asset still waiting to be fully utilized with greater boldness and compassion.

Wheat is the common denominator of international life. A breakthrough in the conquest of hunger is more significant, to me, than a breakthrough in the conquest of outer space. In areas of Africa, Asia, and South America, as well as other parts of the world, wheat and its products mean far more to millions of people today than any space satellite in the sky.

Bread, not guns, may well decide mankind's future destiny.

Our reserves now, Mr. President, of food and fiber, and our ability to produce such commodities in abundance, are resources to be prized; to be used boldly and imaginatively, and not to be dribbled away. This must be conserved.

I wish to raise a word of warning and caution. I intend to address the Senate on this subject following consideration of the foreign aid program. We need

to appraise our own food resources, not in light of our immediate domestic needs, but in light of world needs for the present and for the future.

We have prided ourselves by saying that we provide a shield of military security for the whole free world. We pay for it, too—to the extent of billions of dollars. Yet the same Congress and the same Government which announce to the world that we provide such a shield or umbrella of protection for the whole free world with our military strength have never outlined a program of providing food reserves that are required, even for our own national security, much less the security of the free world. We are finding out today what a little extra food means. I have stated many times in the Senate that there will come a day when food reserves will be looked upon as a valuable asset. When I report to the Senate, within 2 weeks, on the weather cycle now prevailing, the American people will thank God Almighty that there is food in our bins. We are in a weather cycle that spells crop disaster, not only in certain sections of the United States but also in many other areas of the world. While we love to see this beautiful fall, this wonderful autumn, it spells havoc for the crops. The subsoil moisture is diminishing. Those of us who are old enough remember the dark days of the depression and the dust storms. We had better think once more of what could happen.

I remind Senators of what happened to the Soviet Union, and what happened in South Dakota and in Oklahoma in the 1930's, with the dust bowls. The production of wheat in the new lands of the Soviet Union is between 2 and 4 bushels an acre. The top soil is blowing off, as it did in parts of America. Whole areas of the world are in a drought.

Enough of that for now. I shall present statistics, tables, and maps. I am concerned. I raise my voice to few Senators in the Chamber at this moment, but at least for the RECORD I remind the Senate, and this Government and other governments, that we may very well be in a cycle that will test whether we have sufficient intelligence to provide the food reserves required to maintain a healthful standard of living. Perhaps we should remember the Biblical injunction of the 7 long years and the 7 lean. We are beginning 7 lean years, Mr. President, and we had better look forward to that unhappy situation.

Mr. President, food production in the world is barely keeping pace with the growth in population. Hunger still is the daily companion to millions of people. Where there are hunger areas, there are tension areas—and where there are tension areas, there is danger of sparks igniting into war.

In the Latin-American areas population is outstripping food production 2 to 1.

World population is growing at the fastest rate in history. One estimate puts world population at approximately 6 billion persons by the end of this century—double the population now.

We talk about the Alliance for Progress, and we say we are going to help

save Latin America. We are not going to save it with dollars. We may be able to save it with soybeans or feed grains or agricultural technology and we can pour into Latin America \$100 billion of gold, but until they learn how to produce food and how to better use their soil and learn the use of hybrid seeds or modern technology in agriculture, no program will help. I have repeated this statement like a broken record. I was happy to see that the President of the World Bank said the failure of the World Bank was that it had not done its job in agriculture on the world scene. This has been its limitation. George Woods announced that his organization is going to take an entirely new look at loans to governments or countries when they want credits for purposes of agriculture.

Our policies must look ahead at least as far as the lifetimes of today's children. As a nation we cannot do less than plan for survival. We must strive for nothing less than world peace. In either case, our food resources are essential. Wheat is the key. Let us be fair to the producers of this key commodity.

I believe the program I have offered today is a fair program. It is not an extravagant program. I know I shall be criticized for not having gone far enough. But it is 100 percent better than what we have. I am not going to advocate a program that is sheer demagoguery. I have examined the question in terms of programs and production figures. I think the time has come when we must come up with the facts, and quit deluding ourselves. Farmers do not believe our promises any more. They have had too much talk. What they want are statistics, facts, and programs where payments are made to them, and not to the processors, where conservation is emphasized, where the use of land is emphasized. Farmers love land, and do not like to see weed patches. They do not like to see land lying idle with nothing being done to improve its fertility. They want to use it to help make a better life. The program we have offered is a conserving program and a land-use program.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the details of this proposal and a cost analysis of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, and held at the desk as requested by the Senator from Minnesota, and the analysis will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2258) to establish a voluntary special agricultural conservation wheat program for 1964 and 1965 crop years; to provide for the resumption of the use of wheat for feed in areas where it has been used historically for this purpose; to minimize the amount of export subsidies and diversion payments, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself, Mr. McCARTHY, and Mr. BURDICK), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Agri-

culture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Wheat Act of 1963."

Sec. 3. Section 301(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by adding the following new subsections as follows:

"(10) The term 'designated wheat base' means an acreage on the farm equal to the higher of the following acreages:

"(a) The wheat acreage allotment on the farm for the crop year 1963;

"(b) The average acreage of wheat planted on the farm in the crop years 1959, 1960 and 1961 in the case of farms on which wheat was planted under the 15-acre farm marketing quota exemption as provided by section 7 of the Act of May 26, 1941, as amended (Public Law 74, 77th Congress), prior to its repeal by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, with adjustments for abnormal weather conditions, established crop rotation practices on the farm, and such other factors as the Secretary determines should be considered but not to exceed 15 acres."

TITLE I—PRICE SUPPORT

Sec. 101. Effective with the 1964 crops, section 105 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 105(a). Notwithstanding the provisions of section 101 of this Act, for the 1964 and 1965 crops, a price support loan shall be established by the Secretary at such level as the Secretary determines on the basis of the best available statistics reflects the competitive world prices of wheat. To increase the return from the domestically consumed portion of the crop, an additional payment per bushel shall be made available to cooperating producers through payments in kind, or in cash equal to the difference between \$2 per bushel and the average price received by farmers for the 1964 crop but not in excess of 65 cents per bushel. Such payment shall be made on 50 per centum of the number of bushels determined by multiplying the actual acreage planted for harvest by the adjusted acreage yield as determined in section 379(f); To increase the return from the exported portion of the crop, 25 cents per bushel shall be made available to cooperating producers through payments in kind, or in cash. Such payment shall be made on 50 per centum of the number of bushels determined by multiplying the actual acreage planted for harvest by the adjusted average yield as determined in section 379(f).

"(b) If the producers on the farm elect to participate in the special agricultural conservation program, price support shall be made available only if such producers divert from the production of wheat in accordance with the provisions of such program an acreage on the farm equal to the number of acres which such operator agrees to divert, and the agreement shall so provide. In the event that the special agricultural conservation program is not in effect, the Secretary shall make price support available to wheat producers, as provided in subsection (a) of this section.

"(c) Beginning with the 1964 and subsequent crops of wheat, any wheat stored in order to postpone or avoid payment of a wheat marketing quota penalty under Section 6 of the Act of May 26, 1941 (Public Law 74, 77th Congress, as amended) prior to its repeal by the 'Feed Grain and Wheat Act of 1963' shall not be eligible for price support."

Sec. 102. Section 107 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is hereby repealed.

SEC. 103. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended:

(1) by striking the second proviso and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Provided, That effective with the beginning of the 1964 marketing year for wheat, the Corporation shall not sell any such designated grains for unrestricted use at less than 115 per centum above the current support price plus reasonable carrying charges."; and

(2) by striking the semicolon after the words "deterioration and spoilage" in clause (d) and inserting the following: "except if the supply of any designated grain (as defined in section 301(a)(10) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended) is not in excess of a normal supply (as defined in section 301(b)(10)(A) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended) the Corporation shall forthwith replenish its stocks by the purchase of a quantity of the commodity equal to the amount of such commodity so sold."

TITLE II—SPECIAL AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

SEC. 201. Subtitle D of title III of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Subtitle D—Special Agricultural Conservation Program.

"Sec. 379(a). If the Secretary finds that for the 1964 and 1965 marketing years the total supply of wheat will, in the absence of a special agricultural conservation program, be in excess of a "normal supply" as defined in section 301(b)(10)(A) of this Act, he shall formulate and carry out a special agricultural conservation program, without regard to provisions which would be applicable to the regular agricultural conservation program under which, subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary determines, conservation payments in amounts determined by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable shall be made to producers who divert acreage from the production of wheat to an approved conservation use and increase their average acreage of cropland devoted in 1959 and 1960 to designated soil conserving crops or practices including summer fallow and idle land by an equal amount.

"(b) The Secretary may permit such diverted acreage to be devoted to the production of guar, sesame, safflower, sunflower, castor beans, mustard seed, canary seed, soybeans, and flax and other oilseeds, when such crops are not in surplus supply and will not be in surplus supply if permitted to be grown on the diverted acreage, subject to the condition that payment with respect to diverted acreage devoted to any such crop shall be at a rate determined by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable, taking into consideration the use of such acreage for the production of such crops, if such acreage were devoted to conservation uses and no price support shall be made available for the production of any such crop on such diverted acreage.

"(c) The Secretary shall not permit such diverted acreage to be grazed.

"(d) The Secretary shall require the producer to take appropriate measures to keep such diverted acreage free from erosion, insects, weeds, and rodents.

"(e) The acreage eligible for payments in cash or in kind under such special agricultural conservation program shall be an acreage up to the greater of forty acres or 20 per centum of the farm designated wheat base. The Secretary may, at the option of the producer, make an additional payment for the diversion of not to exceed an additional 30 per centum of the designated wheat base on the farm. The rate or rates of payment to be made by the Secretary shall be at such levels as he determines necessary to obtain desirable voluntary adjustments in wheat production, and may vary by areas and types of wheat taking into considera-

tion carryover stocks, domestic and export outlets and such other factors as he deems advisable, and will result in an annual reduction of one hundred bushels in Government carryover stocks of wheat.

"(f) The Secretary may make such adjustments in acreage and yields as he determines necessary to correct for abnormal factors affecting production, and to give due consideration to tillable acreage, crop rotation practices, type of soil, soil and water conservation measures, and topography. The base period for the purpose of determining the adjusted average yield in the case of payments with respect to the 1964 crops shall be the four-year period 1959-1962, and in the case of payments with respect to any subsequent crop shall be the most recent five-year period determined by the Secretary to be representative for which statistics are available.

"(g) The Secretary may make not to exceed 50 per centum of any payments to producers in advance of determination of performance.

"(h) The Secretary shall provide by regulations for the sharing of payments under this subsection among producers on the farm on a fair and equitable basis and in keeping with existing contracts.

"Sec. 380. Payments-in-kind may be made and such payments-in-kind shall be made through the issuance of negotiable certificates which the Commodity Credit Corporation shall redeem for the wheat which shall not be valued at nor sold for unrestricted use for less than 115 per centum of the support price plus reasonable carrying charges and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, assist the producer in the marketing of such certificates at such time and in such manner as the Secretary determines will best effectuate the purposes of this Act. In the case of any certificate not presented for redemption within thirty days of the date of this issuance, reasonable costs of storage and other carrying charges, as determined by the Secretary, for the period beginning thirty days after its issuance and ending with the date of its presentation for redemption shall be deducted from the value of the certificate.

"Sec. 381. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the event of a national emergency or a serious drought, flood or other natural disaster, the Secretary may place such limits on the extent that producers may participate in the special agricultural conservation program authorized by this Act as he determines necessary or he may by mutual agreement with the producer, terminate or modify any agreement previously entered into pursuant to this Act.

"Sec. 382. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to enable the Secretary to carry out the provisions of this subtitle D."

SEC. 202. Effective for the 1964 and 1965 crops of wheat, the Act of May 26, 1941 (Public Law 74, 77th Congress) is not in effect.

SEC. 203. Effective for the 1964 and 1965 crops of wheat, sections 331 through 339 of part III of subtitle B of title III of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, are not in effect.

SEC. 204. Effective for the 1964 and 1965 crops of wheat, section 326 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, as amended, is not in effect.

The analysis ordered to be printed in the RECORD is as follows:

DETAILS OF PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1964 AND 1965 WHEAT CROPS

1. It is a voluntary 2-year special conservation program designed to reduce CCC stocks, induce the resumption of the use of wheat for feed, and to minimize the amount

of export subsidies and diversion payments. If it works well, we can extend it and eliminate marketing quota programs permanently for wheat.

2. The wheat base will be the 1963 allotment. For small growers, it will be the average acreage of wheat planted for harvest on the farm in 1959, 1960, and 1961.

3. Price support loans will be provided to cooperators only at the world price (about \$1.35 per bushel). In addition, a domestic consumption payment equal to the difference between \$2 per bushel and the average 1964 crop market price, but not in excess of 65 cents per bushel, will be paid on one-half of the normal production of the planted acreage. It is anticipated that the market price will rise above the support price, which will mean a payment considerably less than 65 cents and thus reduce the cost of the program to the taxpayer. Also, an export production payment of 25 cents per bushel will be provided to cooperators on one-half the normal production of the planted acreage.

4. A "cooperator" is a person who agrees to reduce his wheat acreage by up to 20 percent from his base. The Secretary of Agriculture will determine and announce the extent of such reduction. Such determination will be based upon the indicated domestic consumption and export outlook. In addition, a cooperator must use his diverted acreage in accordance with the requirements as determined by the Secretary.

5. In order to induce a shift in land use out of wheat, conservation payments will be paid directly to wheat growers. The Secretary will be encouraged to permit such diverted acreage to be devoted to the production of oilseeds in order to expand the supply of protein meals needed by an expanding livestock population. If the land is devoted to such a special crop, reduced payments will be made. Also, no price support is provided for any oilseed produced on the diverted acreages.

6. The objective is to reduce CCC stocks by 100 million bushels per year, and the Secretary is instructed to use the above framework in developing a program to this end.

7. No sales of Government stocks can be made at less than 115 percent of the support price, plus reasonable carrying charges. This will maximize the opportunities for the free market to function without the threat of Government interference.

8. Such a program also will enable us to meet our obligations under the International Wheat Agreement. In addition, the absence of a program could cause us difficulties with Canada, Australia, and the Argentine due to an unlimited domestic production and its potential impact on world markets. Also, in the absence of such a program, to meet our obligations under the IWA, the executive branch would have to engage in a massive interference in the commercial export trade.

9. It will significantly increase wheat farmers' income over the current outlook.

COST ESTIMATES

1. Assume 75 percent participation in the voluntary program.

2. Allotment would be 41 million acres.

3. Assume 25 percent reduction.

4. Allotment on participating farms would be 31 million acres.

5. Assume 30 million acres planted at average yield of 25 bushels to acre.

6. Assume 750 million bushels under price support.

7. Based on these assumptions, payment probably would be 50 cents on 375 million bushels (one-half of domestic consumption) or \$187,500,000; 25 cents on 375 million bushels (one-half export), or \$93,750,000.

8. Cost in direct payments: \$281,250,000.

9. Assume diversion of 8 million acres at \$12.50 per acre.

10. Cost in diversion conservation payments: \$100 million.

11. Because the Commodity Credit Corporation will be required to sell at 115 percent of support plus reasonable carrying charges, market price will rise above support and thus there will be no cost to the Government associated with the support.

12. Total cost of program:

Direct payments.....	\$281,250,000
Conservation payments.....	100,000,000
Total.....	381,250,000

Offsetting factors:

1. Savings to Government in storage, interest and handling: \$25 million (based on reduction of 100 million bushels).

2. Government receipts of \$160 million from sales of 100 million bushels at \$1.60 per bushel.

3. Savings to Government as a result of reduction in export subsidy from 1963 program: \$300 million.

(NOTE.—If there is no program in 1964 there will be no export subsidy, but the Government could acquire approximately 150 million bushels under loan (due to compliance) at a cost of \$187 million. Furthermore, a large supply of wheat would be fed, causing increased Government acquisitions of feed grains under the feed grains program.)

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am very pleased that during my presentation of this message and bill I have received the additional cosponsorship of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK]. At least I have convinced one Senator. I thank the Senator for his sponsorship. He is an expert. He represents one of the truly great wheat-producing areas in the world.

JOINT EXPLORATION AND USE OF SPACE

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], and myself, I send to the desk a concurrent resolution dealing with the desirability of supporting the President in his efforts to attain an agreement with the Soviet Union for a joint trip to the moon.

I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks, and that it may lie on the table for 1 week for additional cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the concurrent resolution will be printed in the RECORD, and lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 65) submitted by Mr. CLARK (for himself and other Senators) was received, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, by concluding a treaty limiting the testing of nuclear devices, have created an atmosphere conducive to the negotiation of further agreements involving international cooperation in peaceful pursuits; and

Whereas President Kennedy, speaking before the General Assembly of the United Na-

tions on September 20, 1963, alluded to the immense duplication of effort and the vast expense of a race between the Soviet Union and the United States to place a man upon the moon, and stated that "we should explore whether the scientists and astronauts of our two countries—indeed of all the world—cannot work together in the conquest of space, sending someday in this decade to the moon, not the representatives of a single nation, but the representatives of all humanity"; and

Whereas the President has been authorized by the Congress, under the terms of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, to engage in programs of international cooperation for the exploration and peaceful uses of space; and

Whereas the United States and the Soviet Union have already entered into agreements for joint space projects in meteorology, communications, and the mapping of the earth's magnetic field; and

Whereas the present United States effort to place a man upon the moon by 1970 will cost billions of dollars; and

Whereas there are competing needs of Americans for adequate housing, education, health facilities and transportation and other earthly necessities; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress endorses and supports the efforts of the President to negotiate agreements with the Soviet Union and with other nations for the joint exploration and peaceful use of space, and urges the President to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union and with other nations, through the medium of the United Nations or through other means, with a view to reaching agreement upon an international cooperative project or projects to place a man or men upon the moon, the costs of which shall be shared by all participating nations.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as the President of the United States pointed out in his fine speech before the United Nations on September 20, 1963, outer space is a fertile area for further cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Why should man's first flight to the moon be a matter of national competition? Why should we and the Soviets incur needless duplications of research, construction, and expenditure in this great voyage of exploration, when the cause of science and international amity would be so well served by cooperation?

I strongly second the President's suggestion, made in his recent United Nations speech, that—

Surely we should explore whether the scientists and astronauts of our two countries—indeed of all the world—cannot work together in the conquest of space, sending someday in this decade to the moon, not the representatives of a single nation, but the representatives of all humanity.

On August 8 of this year I spoke on this same subject in connection with the authorization of appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. My remarks appear at pages 14563-14564 of the RECORD.

Since that date the able chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT] has spoken on the floor in the same vein. One of my purposes in introducing this concurrent resolution is to indicate that there are many of us in this body who drastically disagree with the action taken in the other body on

October 10 of this year as a step backward.

Senators will recall that first, on a division of 99 to 93, and then on a teller vote of 125 to 110, the House adopted the following amendment to the NASA appropriation:

No part of any appropriation made available to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration by this act shall be used for expenses of participating in a manned lunar landing to be carried out jointly by the United States and any Communist, Communist-controlled, or Communist-dominated country, or for expenses of any aeronautical and space activities (as defined in section 103(1) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958) which are primarily designed to facilitate or prepare for participation in such a joint manned lunar landing.

This action was taken with virtually no debate, and with no apparent advance notice. Barely more than half the membership of the House of Representatives voted on the amendment; and it is a safe guess that virtually none of them had an opportunity to think through its implications.

I hope the Senate will strike this amendment from the bill when our turn comes and that the other Members of the House who were not present and voting will undertake to overrule, in due course, the close vote by which this amendment was adopted, when the Members of the House, I suspect, without very careful consideration, took this position in direct opposition to the program of the President of the United States, and that they will reconsider their ill-conceived views.

For this reason I hope that the concurrent resolution which has been submitted today will reasonably promptly be referred to a committee, that hearings will be held on it, and that it will go to the other body, where I hope it will receive approval, in order that the whole world and our country may know that we strongly support the President of the United States in his efforts to enhance the somewhat more friendly spirit which is beginning to appear, to melt at least a part of the cold war, and that we in our country may, in a sense, have a matching grant program with the Soviet Union, in the effort to go to the moon, and thereby save a dollar of the American taxpayer's money for every dollar the Russians pay for the same venture.

As I said on August 8, there are far too many unfilled needs in our Nation in our domestic economy, and in our efforts to raise the standard of living and well-being of our people, for us to squander somewhere between \$20 and \$30 billion of the taxpayers' money in an effort to acquire another prestige symbol, another status symbol, so that, like a little boy of 10 or 12 years of age, we can beat our chest and say, "Look at me. I got to the moon before the Russians."

JOINT COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF THE CONGRESS—AMENDMENT (AMENDMENT NO. 237)

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, turning to another subject, I submit and ask unanimous consent to have printed an

amendment proposed to be offered by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] and myself when Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, which is now on the calendar, is called up by the leadership for floor action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 237) is as follows:

On page 4, line 20, strike out the subsection designation "(a)".

On page 5, line 24, strike out the word "and".

On page 6, line 4, strike out the period after the word "Congress" and insert a semicolon and the word "and".

On page 6, between lines 4 and 5, insert the following new paragraph:

"(11) The rules, parliamentary procedure, practices or precedents of each House of Congress, and the consideration of any matter on the floor of each House."

Beginning with line 5, page 6, strike out all to and including line 13, page 6.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the purpose of the proposed amendment is to reinsert in the resolution the words which were stricken out of it by the Rules Committee, which would call for a joint congressional committee to investigate the whole problem of the need for congressional reorganization and give the committee authority to investigate the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices or precedents of each House of Congress, and the consideration of any matter on the floor of each House.

This language was stricken from the resolution originally submitted on behalf of 30 Senators. It has been my view that the action of the Rules Committee was unwise in this regard. In my judgment, congressional reorganization is badly needed in the area of rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, or precedents of each House of Congress, and the consideration of any matter on the floor of each House. That provision was stricken from the jurisdiction of the proposed joint committee of the two Houses by the action of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, and as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator from Tennessee, Mr. KEFAUVER, I move that the Senate recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the Senate, under the order previously entered, took a recess until Monday, October 28, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 24 (legislative day of October 22), 1963:

IN THE NAVY

Vice Adm. William R. Smedberg III, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral on the retired list pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

Rear Adm. Charles C. Kirkpatrick, U.S. Navy, for appointment as Chief of Naval Personnel for a term of 4 years pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 5141.

Having designated Rear Adm. Charles C. Kirkpatrick, U.S. Navy, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1963

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Colossians 1: 17: *He is before all things, and by Him all things hold together.*

Almighty God, our Father, on this day vast multitudes are praying for Thy special blessing on the United Nations.

We penitently confess that many of the ties that should bind together the members of the family of nations are torn apart and many hearts are broken. Give us a stronger faith in Thy divine sovereignty for Thou alone canst inspire and sustain the United Nations in these perilous times when all mankind seems to be stumbling in darkness and groping its way.

Thou alone art the secret of its unifying and cohesive power and the prophecy of its creative and continuing ideals for without Thee its hopes are doomed and its dreams of peace will fade.

Show us how we may strengthen the bonds of international fellowship and gain for humanity a larger measure of freedom and security and a greater opportunity for growth and self-realization.

Hear us in the name of the Prince of Peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 181]

Avery	Barrett	Bates
Baring	Barry	Beicher

Bennett, Mich.	Hagen, Calif.	Olsen, Mont.
Berry	Halpern	Passman
Betts	Hanna	Patman
Blatnik	Harding	Perkins
Bolton,	Hardy	Pike
Frances P.	Harris	Pilcher
Bray	Harvey, Mich.	Pillion
Brock	Hays	Pirnie
Broyhill, N.C.	Healey	Quie
Buckley	Hébert	Quillen
Burton	Hechler	Reid, Ill.
Cahill	Hoeven	Reid, N.Y.
Cederberg	Horan	Rivers, S.C.
Celler	Horton	Roberts, Tex.
Chamberlain	Hutchinson	Rogers, Tex.
Chelf	Ichord	Rostenkowski
Chenoweth	Jarman	Rumsfeld
Clancy	Jensen	Ryan, N.Y.
Clark	Johnson, Calif.	St. George
Collier	Karth	St. Onge
Conte	Kee	Schneebell
Curtis	Keith	Shelley
Daddario	Kelly	Shipley
Daniels	Kilburn	Sickles
Davis, Tenn.	King, Calif.	Smith, Iowa
Dawson	Kluczynski	Springer
Denton	Kornegay	Steed
Derounian	Laird	Stubblefield
Derwinski	Langen	Taft
Diggs	Latta	Thomas
Dingell	Lesinski	Thompson, La.
Dorn	Long, La.	Thompson, N.J.
Evins	McDade	Thornberry
Fallon	McIntire	Tupper
Farbstein	Macdonald	Ullman
Feighan	Martin, Calif.	Utt
Findley	Martin, Mass.	Van Deerlin
Flynt	Matthews	Van Pelt
Fogarty	Michel	Vinson
Fulton, Pa.	Miller, N.Y.	Watson
Garmatz	Milliken	Weaver
Gary	Minshall	White
Glaimo	Monagan	Wickersham
Gibbons	Morris	Wilson,
Grabowski	Morrison	Charles H.
Gray	Morton	Winstead
Green, Pa.	Mosher	Wylder
Griffin	Moss	Younger
Grover	Nix	
Gurney	O'Brien, Ill.	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 279 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ASSESSMENT OF ESTATE TAXES

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill designed to alleviate a very serious problem which has developed in recent years. In the assessment of estate taxes it is the duty of the Internal Revenue Service to make such assessments upon the basis of appraisals of property values. Internal revenue agents are now making such appraisals at what often appears to be exorbitant levels, and in many instances upon speculative and inflated values. This trend is leading to virtual confiscation of estates, which in my judgment is contrary to the public interest.

The bill I have introduced would require the Internal Revenue Service to take into consideration, in making such appraisals, the productive capacity of farm and ranch land and other property, rather than speculative and unrealistic values. This legislation is urgently needed. It is my hope that the Ways and Means Committee will give it most serious consideration.